

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Marchion. of Pompadour.

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

Wherein are Displayed

The Motives of the Wars, Treaties of Peace, Embassies, and Negotiations, in the several Courts of Europe:

The Cabals and Intrigues of Courtiers; the Characters of Generals, and Ministers of State, with the Causes of their Rise and Fall; and, in general, the most remarkable Occurrences at the Court of France, during the last twenty Years of the Reign of Lewis XV.

Translated from the French.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

D U B L I N:

Printed for W. and W. SMITH, P. WILSON, J. MURPHY, E. WATTS, W. SLEATOR, D. CHAMBERLAINE, J. POTTS, J. HOEY, jun. J. WILLIAMS, and W. COLLES.

The King called her to court at a tempestuous season of life, when the passions reign uncontrouled, and by corrupting the heart, enlarge the understanding.

They who are near the persons of Kings, for the most part, surpass the common run of mankind, both in natural and acquired talents; for ambition is ever attended with a sort of capacity to compass its ends; and all courtiers are ambitious.

No sooner does the Sovereign take a mistress, than the courtiers flock about her. Their first concern is to give her her cue; for as they intend to avail themselves of her interest with the King, she must be made acquainted with a multitude of things: she may be said to receive her intelligence from the first hand, and to draw her knowledge at the fountain head.

Lewis XV. intrusted the Marchioness de Pompadour with the greatest concerns of the nation; so that if she had been without those abilities which distinguished her at Paris, she must still have improved in the school of Versailles.

Her talents did not clear her in the public eye; never was a favourite more outrageously pelted with pamphlets, or exposed to more clamorous invectives. Of this her Memoirs are a full demonstration; her enemies charged her with many very odious vices, without so much as allowing her

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her one good quality. The grand subject of murmur was the bad state of the finances, which they attributed to her amours with the King.

They who brand the Marchioness with having run Lewis XV. into vast expences, seem to have forgot those which his predecessor's mistresses had brought on the state.

Madame de la Valiere, even before she was declared mistress to Lewis XIV. induced him to give entertainments, which cost the nation more than ever Madame de Pompadour's fortune amounted to.

Madam de Montespan put the same Prince to very enormous expences; she appeared always with the pomp and parade of a Queen, even to the having guards to attend her.

Scarron's widow carried her pride and ostentation still furthur: she drew the King in to marry her, and this mistress came to be queen, an elevation which will be an eternal blot on the Prince's memory.

This clandestine commerce gave rise to an infamous practice at court, with which Madame de Pompadour cannot be charged. All these concubines having children, to gratify their vanity, they must be legitimated; and, afterwards, they found means to marry these sons, or daughters, of prostitution, to the branches of the royal blood; a flagrant debasement of the house which were

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in kin to the crown : for though a Sovereign can legitimate a bastard, to efface the stain of bastardy is beyond his power. The consequence was, that the descendants of that clandestine issue aspired to the throne ; and, through the King's scandalous amours, that lustre which is due only to virtue, fell to the portion of vice.

It was given out in France, and over all Europe, that Madame de Pompadour was immensely rich : but nothing of this appeared at her death, except her magnificent moveables, and these were rather the consequences of her rank at court, than the effects of her vanity. This splendor his Majesty partook of, as visiting her every day.

The public is generally an unfair judge of those who hold a considerable station at court, deciding from vague reports, which are often the forgeries of ill-grounded prejudice. Madame de Pompadour has been charged with insatiable avarice. Had this been the case, she might have indulged herself at will : she was at the spring-head of opulence ; the King never refused her any thing ; so that she might have amassed any money ; which she did not. There are now existing, in France, fifty wretches of financiers, each of a fortune far exceeding her's.

It was also said, that the best thing which could happen to France, was to be rid of this rapacious favourite. Well ; she is no more ; and what is France the better for it ? Has her death

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death been followed by one of those sudden revolutions in the government, which usher in a better form of administration? Have they who looked on this Lady as an unsurmountable obstacle to France's greatness, proposed any better means for raising it from its present low state? Is there more order in the government? are the finances improved? is there more method and œconomy? No, affairs are still in the same bad way; the lethargy continues as profound as ever. The ministry, which before Madame de Pompadour's death was fast asleep, is not yet awake. Every thing remains in *statu quo*. Some European governments have no regular motion; they advance either too fast, or too slow; their steps are either precipitate, or sluggish.

In this favourite's time, there was too much shifting and changing in the ministry; now she is gone, there is none at all, &c. &c.

I am very far from intending a panegyric on Madame de Pompadour. Faults she had, which posterity will never forgive. All the calamities of France were imputed to her, and she should have resigned in compliance to the public: a nation is to be respected even in its prejudices. With any tolerable share of patriotism, Madame de Pompadour would have quitted the court, and thus approved herself deserving of the favour for which she was execrated; but her soul was not capable of such an act of magnanimity: she knew nothing of that philosophy which, inspiring a

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contempt of external grandeur, endears the subject to the Prince, and exalts him above the throne.

There is great appearance that this Lady intended to revise both her Memoirs and her will, and that death prevented her : she used to write, by starts, detached essays, without any coherence ; and these on separate bits of paper. These were very numerous and diffuse, as generally are the materials intended to form a book, if she really had any such design.

We were obliged to throw by on all sides, and clear our way through an ocean of writings, a long and tiresome business.

It is far from being improbable, that Madame de Pompadour got some statesman, well versed in such matters, to assist her in compiling this book : however that be, we give it as it stands in her original manuscript.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

Marchioness of Pompadour.

THE following narrative is not confined to the particular history of my life. My design is more extensive: I shall endeavour to give a true representation of the court of France under the reign of Lewis XV. The private memoirs of a King's mistress are in themselves of small import; but to know the character of the Prince who raises her to favour; to be let into the intrigues of his reign, the genius of the courtiers, the practices of the ministers, the views of the great, the projects of the ambitious; in a word, into the secret springs of politics, is not a matter of indifference.

It is very seldom that the public judge rightly of what passes in the cabinet: they hear that the King orders armies to take the field; that he wins or loses battles; and on these occurrences they argue according to their particular prejudices.

History does not come nearer the mark; the generality of annalists being only the echoes of the public mistakes.

B 4

These



These papers I do not intend to publish in my life-time ; but should they appear after my death, posterity will see in them a faithful draught of the several parts of the administration, which were acted, in some measure, under my eye. Had I never lived at Versailles, the events of our times might have been an inexplicable riddle to posterity ; so complicated are the incidents, and in many particulars so contradictory, that, without a key, there is no decyphering them.

Ministers and other place-men are not always acquainted with the means, which they themselves make use of for attaining certain ends. A plenipotentiary very well knows that he signs a treaty of peace, but he is ignorant of the King's motives for putting an end to the war.

Every politician strikes out a system in his own sagacious brain ; the speculatists have often fathered on France what she never dreamed of ; and many refined schemes have been attributed to her ministers, which never made part of their plan.

It is not long since a minister of a certain court said to me at Versailles, That the two last German wars, which cost France so much blood, and three hundred millions of livres, was the greatest stroke of policy which the age afforded : as this court had thereby insensibly, and unknown to the rest of Europe, reduced the power of the Queen of Hungary : for, added he, if, on the demise of Charles VI. this crown had openly bent all its forces against the house of Austria, a general alliance would have opposed it : whereas it has weakened that house by a series of little battles and repeated losses, &c. &c.

The inserting such an anecdote in the annals of our age would be sufficient to disfigure the whole history. The truth is, that they who
were

were at the head of the French affairs, during these two wars, had no manner of genius.

All details not relative to the state I shall carefully omit, as rather writing the age of Lewis XV. than the history of my private life. The transactions of a King's favourite concern only the reign of that Prince; but truth is of perpetual concern.

I hope the public does not expect from me a circumstantial journal of Lewis XV's gallantries: the King had many transitory amours during my residence at Versailles; but none of his mistresses were admitted into the public affairs. The reign of the far greater part began and ended in the Prince's bed. These foibles, so closely connected with human nature, belong rather to a King's private life, than to the public history of a Monarch: I may sometimes mention them, but it will only be by the way. I shall likewise be silent in regard to my family. The particular favour, with which I have been honoured by Lewis XV. has placed my origin in broad daylight. A Monarch in raising a woman to the summit of grandeur, of course lays open the blemishes of her birth. The annals of the universe have been overlooked, to make a singular case of what has been almost a general practice in the world.

The Roman Emperors often raised to favour and eminence women of more obscure birth than mine: but, without going so far backward, the history of our own Kings abounds with such instances. Though the widow of Scarron the poet rose a step higher than I, she was not born to such exaltation. It is true her father was a gentleman; but all women, not born Princesses, are at a like distance from the throne.

A multitude of injurious reports have been propagated concerning my parents. A wretched anonymous writer has gone even farther, by publishing a scandalous book with the title of the history of my life. The Count D'Affry wrote to me from Holland, that this production was of the growth of Great-Britain. The English seem to make it their particular business to throw dirt at persons of distinguished rank at the court of France : that government is said to claim such a privilege, in order to keep up the hatred between the two nations.

Though my birth had nothing great in it, my education was not neglected. I was taught dancing, music, and the rules of elocution, by excellent masters ; and those little talents have proved of the highest use to me. I also read a great deal, and a favourite writer of mine was one Madame de Villedieu. Her picture of the Roman empire entertained me exceedingly. I even felt a very lively joy in observing that the greatest revolutions in the world have been owing to love.

After bestowing on me all the accomplishments which advantageously distinguish a young person of my sex, I was married to one whom I did not love ; and a misfortune still greater was, that he loved me. This I call a misfortune, and indeed I know not a greater on earth ; for a woman not beloved by a man, whom she likewise has married without any affection, at least comforts herself in his indifference.

During the first years of my marriage, the King's gallantries were much talked of at Paris : his fleeting amours opened a field for all women, who had beauty enough to put in for his heart.

The post of mistress to Lewis XV. was often vacant. At Versailles all the passions had an
appea-

appearance of debauchery. In that airy region love was soon exhausted, as consisting wholly in fruition. Nothing of delicacy was to be seen at court; the whole scene of sensibility was in the Prince's bed. This Monarch often lay down with a heart full of love, and the next morning rose with as much indifference.

This account made me shudder; for I own I had then formed a design of winning the heart of that Prince. I was afraid that he was so used to change, as to be past all constancy.

I even, then, blushed at the thought of giving myself up to an inclination of no farther consequence than a momentary gratification of the senses; but was fixed on my design.

I had often seen the King at Versailles, without being perceived by him; our looks had never met; my eyes had a great deal to say, but had no opportunity of explaining my desires. At length I had an interview with the monarch, and, for the first time, talked with him in private. There is no expressing what passed in me at this first conversation: fear, hope, and admiration, successively agitated my soul. The King soon dispelled my confusion; for Lewis XV. is certainly the most affable Prince in his court, if not in the whole world. In private discourse his rank lays no restraint, and all ideas of the throne are suspended; an air of candour and goodness diffuses itself through every part of his behaviour; in short, he can forget that he is a King, to be the more a gentleman.

Our conversation was to me all charming: I pleased and was pleased. The King has since owned to me, that he loved me from that first interview. It was there agreed that we should see one another privately at Versailles: he was very much for my immediately coming to an apartment
in

in the palace : he even insisted on it ; but I begged he would give me leave to remain still incognito for some time ; and the King, being the most polite man in France, yielded to my request. On my return to Paris, a thousand fresh emotions rose in my breast. A strange thing is the human heart ! we feel the effects of those passions of which we know not the cause. I am still at a loss whether I loved the King from this first meeting : that it gave me infinite pleasure, I know ; but pleasure is not always a consequence of love. We are susceptible of a multitude of other passions, which may produce the like effect.

I experienced a thousand delights in our secret intercourse : little do I wonder that Madame de la Valiere, in the infancy of her amours with Lewis XIV. was so transported with the sole enjoyment of that Monarch's affection : but at length, the King requiring that I should live at Versailles, I complied with his desire.

Now was my first appearance at court. Very faint and imperfect are the descriptions which books give of this grand theatre. I thought myself amidst another species of mortals : I observed that their manners and usages are not the same ; and that in regard to dress, deportment, and language, the inhabitants of Versailles are entirely different from those of Paris. Every courtier, besides his personal character, frames to himself another, under which he acts his several parts. In town, virtue and vice are streightened ; here both range at large. The passions are the stronger, as they happen to be at the source of the means of gratifying them. Private interest, from whence they derive all their activity, is there in its centre. The Prince's favour gives life and motion to the courtier's soul : without a beam from the throne, it is all a horrid gloom.

To

To appear with dignity on this theatre ; where I was an utter stranger, I saw that it behoved me to make it my first care to examine into the temper of those actors who played the capital parts.

Of his Majesty I knew nothing, but by common report ; and that, when it relates to a reigning Prince, is generally wrong ; either flattery attributing too many virtues to him, or malevolence charging him with too many vices.

Lewis XV. is endowed with great natural parts, a surprising quickness of apprehension, and solidity of judgment. He, at once, discerns the springs which give motion to the most complicated affairs of politics : he knows all the weaknesses of the general system, and the faults of each particular administration. This Prince has a noble and exalted soul : the blood of the legislator, the hero, and the warrior, runs in his veins ; but a narrow education has stifled the effect of these advantages. Cardinal Fleury, having not one great principle in himself, trained this Prince to nothing but trifles : yet this unequal education did not extinguish in him the most amiable qualities which can adorn a Sovereign. It is impossible to exceed the goodness of Lewis XV's heart : he is humane, mild, affable, compassionate, just, delighting in good, a declared enemy to every thing which does not bear the stamp of honour and probity, &c. &c.

Singular likewise are the virtues of the Queen : she has laid all domestic hardships at the foot of the cross ; so far from lamenting a fate, which would have embittered the whole life of another Princess, she considers it as a particular favour of Heaven, from a persuasion that Providence is pleased to try her firmness in this life, in order to confer the greater reward on her in the next. None of those fretful words which speak a rankled heart ever
came

came from her: she dwells with pleasure on the King's eminent qualities, and draws a veil over his weaknesses: she never speaks of him but with a sensible respect and veneration: it is impossible for any lady to carry Christian perfection to a higher degree, and to concenter so many qualities in a rank, where the least defects efface the greatest virtues.

The Dauphin, being at that time very young, did not in the least concern himself in public affairs. The King had ordered him not to interfere in politics, and he seemed sufficiently inclined to conform to such injunctions.

The young Princesses kept pretty much in their apartments, and read a great deal. Sometimes, indeed, they went a-hunting, dined with the King in public, shewed themselves at the balls; then withdrew, without much minding the intrigues of the court.

The Duke of Orleans, though first Prince of the blood, seldom came to Versailles: he had given into devotion, and spent his life in deeds of charity.

The Prince of Conti was at that time in the field, and wholly taken up with military glory.

Condé was very young, and his uncle Charolois sunk in the most debauched intemperance.

The other Princes of the royal blood had little or no share in public affairs; accordingly they never came to Versailles, but to be present at a great council, or at the King's levee.

Cardinal Tencin bore a great sway at court; the King confided in him very much; so that they often used to be busy together. The most weighty concerns of the crown were put into this ecclesiastic's hands. Many extolled him as a great minister; but as I scarce knew the man, I shall say nothing of him: yet, when I think how much France
has

has suffered by Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury, I own I do not like to see people of that class at the head of affairs.

The Count de Maurepas excelled all the ministers of that time in genius, activity, and penetration: he was of as long a standing in the ministry as Lewis XV. in the sovereignty. To him the kingdom is indebted for several noble institutions. It was he who re-established the navy, which, after the death of Lewis XIV. had been most shamefully neglected. I have been told that the Levant trade was entirely his work. He was indefatigable in his department; and his dispatches were surprisingly accurate. I have seen many of his letters; and think it is scarce possible to comprize so many things in so few words.

The d'Argensons, who had been introduced lately into the ministry, had as yet no settled character: they were said not to want either genius or probity; but that is not always sufficient for a proper discharge of such a post. I have heard that many qualifications are requisite; and that, if the least of them be wanting, there is no making any figure in the ministry.

The Count de St. Florentin, who managed ecclesiastical matters, was little considered either at court or in town. He kept himself neuter amidst the intrigues of Versailles, minding only the business of his own department. As no great genius is required to issue letters *de cachet*, and banish priests, he filled his post with all the dignity of a minister whose only business is to sign.

Orry, the Comptroller-general, was looked upon as a man of abilities, from his talent at scheming pecuniary edicts. Within some months after I had been settled at Versailles, he laid before the King no less than twenty-five, and these were to bring

bring in two hundred millions. He was called the *Grand Financier*, from his finding resources for the King, by impairing those of the state.

The Prince de Soubise was a man of parts and discernment. He knew a great deal; but his friends could have wished that he had not embarked in war. The soldiery had no opinion of him: Perhaps in this they were wrong; yet a great man, who would be useful to his country, must give way to public prejudice.

Marshal Noailles had still greater abilities; so that it may be questioned whether ever any one statesman or general possessed so extensive a knowledge. The forming of him was an effort of nature. There is not a science relating to political, civil, and military government, with which he was not intimately acquainted; but the exertion of these qualities was limited to the cabinet. His timidity and irresolution, in a day of action, benumbed his faculties, otherwise so excellent: his genius was certainly vast and extensive; and I question whether Europe had his equal in council.

Marshal Belleisle was then in high reputation: the court and town were full of his praise. There was not in all France a man who had been at more pains to acquire a superficial knowledge of useless things: He pretended to be acquainted with every subject, and he had the art of making others believe so; hence it was not in the least suspected that he understood the art of war as little as that of negociation: his manners were mild and engaging, and he had an agreeable fluency of speech; but he was so conceited of his knowledge, that although he affected a certain degree of modesty, still his deportment was sure to betray his pride: in short, I never knew a vainer creature.

The Chevalier Belleisle did not affect to have so much

much understanding as his brother, which shewed him to have the more; but he had all the excessive ambition of the Marshal, and lost his life in attempting to force an intrenchment, the success of which would have raised him to the same rank.

The Duke de Richelieu was still more idolized than Marshal Belleisle. The King could not be without him. He was sure to be one at the private suppers, and he superintended all the diversions of Versailles. Never was any man like him for striking out a party of pleasure, and enlivening it by little incidents. He made it his business to divert the King, and was very alert in seizing every opportunity conducive to that end: but it was not for the King's sake that he gave himself all that trouble: his motive of acting was his own aggrandizement; for he is insatiably greedy of rank and distinctions. Though of no genius for war, he had the ambition of being created a Marshal of France; and without any political talents, he was for thrusting himself into the ministry.

Maurice of Saxony was the hero of France: he was esteemed the kingdom's guardian angel. I shall speak of him when I come to treat of the battle of Fontenoy.

Monsieur d'Etrées had the reputation of an able general: I shall make farther mention of him in the sequel.

The greater part of the other courtiers were subordinate officers: they used to come from the army to Versailles, and then go back from Versailles to the army; all their business at court being about preferments. These were the Dukes of Grammont, Piquigny, Biron, la Valiere, Boufflers, Luxembourg; the Marquisses of Putange, Maubourg, Bregè, Langeron, Armentieres, Creil, Renepont; the Counts Coigny, la Mothe-Houdancourt,



court, Clermont, Estrées, Berenger; Messieurs d' Aumont, Meuse, Ayou, Cibert, Chersey, Buckley, Segur, Fenelon, St. André, Varennes, Montal, Balincourt, la Fare, Clermont-Tonnerre; with many more who were for raising themselves by the sword.

There was, at that time, scarce a woman at court who aspired at the King's affections. Those of a distinguished rank disdained to be the objects of a transient love; and others, who courted that situation, had neither beauty nor graces sufficient to obtain it; so that it was only Parisian Ladies who entered into any of these intrigues, several were sure to place themselves in sight whenever the King dined in public; and always attended him to the chace: in short, they were ever dangling after his Majesty, which was just the very way to come short of their aim.

My thoughts were employed to secure myself in the station to which fortune had raised me. The King was with me as often as the affairs of the crown would allow; leaving all grandeur behind him, and coming into my apartment without any thing of that state which attends on him at other places: for my part, I closely studied his temper.

Lewis XV. is naturally of a saturnine turn: his soul is shrouded in a thick gloom; so that, with every pleasure at command, he may be said to be unhappy. Sometimes his melancholy throws him into such a languor that nothing affects him, and then he is quite insensible to all entertainment and pleasure. In these intervals, life becomes an insupportable burden to him. The enjoyment of a beautiful woman for a while diverts his uneasiness; but so far is it from being a lasting relief, that his melancholy afterwards returns upon him with redoubled weight.

Another

Another misfortune in this Prince's life is, the continual conflict between his devotion and his passions; pleasure drawing him on, and remorse withholding him: Under this incessant struggle, he is one of the most unhappy men in his kingdom.

I perceived that the King's disposition was not to be changed by love only: this put me on engaging him by the charms of conversation; which has a stronger influence with men than the passions themselves. Of this, history furnished me with an instance in the person of his great grandfather. Lewis XIV. had so habituated himself to Madame de Maintenon, that no other woman could make any impression on him; and, tho' the court at that time was full of celebrated beauties, Scarron's widow, at an age when female influence over man is generally on the decline, found means so strongly to fix his affection, that her death only put an end to the charm.

I planned a series of diversions, which, following close on one another, got the better of the King's constitution, and diverted him from himself. I brought him to like music, dancing, plays, and little operas, in which I myself used to perform; and private suppers terminated the festivity. Thus the King lay down and rose in perfect satisfaction and good humour. The next day, unless detained on some great council, or other extraordinary ceremony, he would hasten to my apartment, to take, if I may presume to use the expression, his dose of good humour for the whole day. He grew fond of me from that instinct which makes us love what contributes to our happiness. All the favourites before me had thought only of making themselves loved by the King: it had not come into their heads to divert him.

Thus

Thus I became necessary to his Majesty ; his attachment grew stronger every day. I could have wished that our union had rested on love only ; but with a Prince accustomed to change, we must do as well as we can.

After the first moments of surprize, which naturally arises in our minds upon any great change, I, in my turn, gave myself up to uneasy reflections. Amidst all the King's affection, I feared the return of his inconstancy. I could lay but little stress on my elevation ; all bow the knee to the idol whilst the Prince worships it ; but on his over-throwing the altar, it is trampled under foot. Some days after I thought I had more reason than ever to fear ; for the King, coming to sup with me, seemed more thoughtful than usual. Instead of that gaiety which began to be natural to him, his countenance was quite clouded : all his talk was about politics, the affairs of Europe, and dispatching a courier to the army ; thus, after a short conversation, he withdrew. This abruptness filled me with alarms : I had not a wink of sleep ; and next morning I sent him an account of my condition in the following note :

“ S I R E,

“ Your politics have quite broke my heart. I
 “ was going to say a thousand pleasant things to
 “ you, had not your dispatches interrupted me. I
 “ have not closed my eyes during the whole night ;
 “ for God's sake, Sire, leave Europe to itself, and
 “ allow me to lay open to you the state of my
 “ heart, which is on the rack when you deprive
 “ me of any opportunity of telling you that I love
 “ you with an affection, the end of which will
 “ be that of my life.”

The

The King having read my letter, came in person to my apartment to make me easy; and he was now more gay than usual. I think I never saw him in a better temper. He had already given me some insight into the great events at that time on the carpet, and I was for diving into the truth of these abstruse mysteries; but not a word did I then understand in politics. I have heard that the English ladies have every morning ready laid on their toilet a paper giving them an account of the affairs of Europe, whereas all that we French women find there is our paint-boxes.

I applied to Marshal Belleisle. "My Lord, be so kind as to instruct me in what you call politics, which every body here is continually talking of." He answered me smiling, "I cannot bring myself, Madam, to instruct you in a science which will prove destructive to many." Yet the veteran courtier talked to me of systems, and enlarged upon the methods to be used by a state for its aggrandisement.

After listening to him for some time, I concluded, though a novice at court, that this science is not reducible to principles nor general rules, as totally depending on time, place, and circumstances, and these almost ever arising from chance.

In order to get a knowledge of the preceding administrations, I set myself to read the history of our government; but it was not in books that I sought for this knowledge, having always looked on them as the source of public errors. I consulted original manuscripts, which were put into my hands by the King himself. Here I saw all the former mistakes and the original causes of them.

As it was known both at Paris and Versailles that Lewis XV. was unsettled in his amours, his favourites had no very regular court. It often fell out

out that a lady whom the King had distinguished, lay down in high favour, and rose in disgrace : for vacant employments and temporary grants the favourites were practised on ; but for the great purposes of ambition other springs than mistresses were set to work.

In the first months of my favour scarce any body came near me. The Duke de Richelieu was the only nobleman who visited me in the King's absence ; but when, by the Monarch's order, I made my appearance as Marchioness de Pompadour, and his Majesty was continually giving me marks of his esteem, the face of things changed. Envy and ambition formed two numerous parties. The former blackened me with the most virulent malice ; and the latter as much exceeded in the most fulsome adulation. The motive in one was hope of preferment, the other acted from a despair of ever being preferred : both, however, joined in asking favours of me.

I used my interest with the King in behalf of both. If I raised a person to a considerable post, or procured him a large pension, I surely drew on myself a hundred enemies, besides his ingratitude. At length all the kingdom came to pay their court to me ; for the royal favour continued to shine on me as bright as ever. They who had been the most forward in reviling my birth, now claimed kindred with me. I shall never forget a letter I received at Versailles from a gentleman of one of the most antient families in Provence, in the following terms :

“ Dear Cousin,

“ I did not know that I was related to you till
 “ now that the King has created you Marchioness
 “ de Pompadour : a learned genealogist has de-
 “ monstrated

“monstrated to me, that your great-grandfather
 “was fourth cousin to my grandfather; so you
 “see, dear cousin, our alliance is indisputable.
 “If you desire it, I’ll send you our pedigree, that
 “you may shew it to the King.

“In the mean time, my son, your cousin,
 “who has served with distinction several years,
 “wants a regiment; and as he cannot hope to
 “obtain it by his rank, be so good as to ask the
 “favour from the King.”

I sent him the following answer :

SIR,

“I shall lay hold of the very first opportunity
 “to desire his Majesty to give your son a regi-
 “ment. But I likewise have a favour to ask of
 “you, which is to dispense me from the honour
 “of being related to you. I have some family
 “reasons which forbid me to think, that my fore-
 “fathers have ever been allied to any of the an-
 “tient houses of this kingdom.”

Half France would hide themselves for shame,
 were I to give a detail of all the mean, fawning
 letters sent to me by persons of the first families
 in the kingdom. A Princess could write to me in
 this manner :

“My dear Friend,

“I beg you would ask the King for a grant of
 “farmer-general for Mr. Armand M——, a su-
 “perannuated clerk, whose fortune I would gladly
 “make. For this favour I shall hold myself ob-
 “liged to you as long as I live.

“I am, my dear,

“With all possible regard,

“Your most humble servant.”

The

The public envy, however, increasing with the marks of royal favour, the world, at any rate, would make me answerable for the events of the times. It has been in every body's mouth, that all the misfortunes of France were owing to me. If there were any grounds for such a charge, the kingdom must have been in a prosperous and flourishing state when his Majesty called me to Versailles; whereas it was very far from being so. The cause of the evil lay deep; so that France, under all its pressures, was only fulfilling its destiny. The misfortunes of the administration in this reign are to be considered as flowing from the former administration.

At the time of the demise of Lewis XIV. the kingdom was in a dreadful disorder; the debts of the nation were immense, and the public credit totally ruined; so that the state then laboured under an evil, which was not to be cured by temporary remedies. Lewis the Great, by his excessive fondness for splendor, had impoverished the people. The preceding Kings were contented with being the stewards or managers of the general wealth, but he made himself the proprietor of it; he became master of the nation's treasure; all the finances were in his hands: he had augmented the crown revenues beyond all relative proportion; in the course of three years the whole species of France came into his coffers: besides, his magnificence had set his subjects the pernicious example of impoverishing themselves by profuse expences.

The duke of Orleans, who was at the head of the state after Lewis XIV. so far from restoring order, increased the confusion. He promoted a system of finances, which proved their utter ruin. All the riches of the monarchy changed hands. No such thing as money was to be seen; foreigners ran away with one part, and domestic stock-

jobbers

jobbers secreted the other ; no plan of administration could be contrived, capable of putting a stop to evils, unprecedented from the very foundation of the monarchy. This revolution greatly affected the several branches of the national strength. Agriculture, trade, arts, and ingenuity, were sufferers by it, and still suffer : for I have heard very knowing persons say, that the grand system had given birth to many detrimental systems in the state.

Cardinal Fleury succeeded him ; and things went still worse : he alone did more harm to France than all those before him, who had like to have ruined this realm. His particular qualities were order, œconomy, and moderation ; virtues excellent in a private person, but in a statesman often very great vices. All his view was, to fill the treasury, fancying that if the King were but rich, the state would no longer be poor. Thus he went on increasing the opulence of the crown, from the people's subsistence. Intent upon saving, he let the navy run to ruin, that is, he deprived France of the only way left for retrieving itself.

Fleury died ; but this produced no amendment in the administration. France had not a minister capable of setting things to rights. They who were put at the head of affairs, were very busy, but without any knowledge. I have been told by a very experienced person, who used to come and see me at Versailles, that if at the Cardinal's death the ministry had been put into the hands of an angel, he could not have done the crown much good. He added, that all the most able minister could do, was to prepare materials for a better administration. The government, said he, has six capital imperfections, and these are not to be amended. But by casting the constitution in a new mould.

Another outcry was my being the source of favours, and that I disposed of every thing in the kingdom; with this addition, that I had brought the King to such a custom of visiting me, as had made it a kind of law to him, never to refuse me any thing. To this I answer, that it is an evil both necessary and natural to absolute government. Sovereigns must either have a confidant or a mistress; and of the two the state generally suffers most by the former. Men in general have ambitious views, which a woman does not trouble herself about. The confidant studies to avail himself of the prince's favour in all the means of raising himself to the highest fortune; he gets the sole management of the public finances; he engrosses the most lucrative posts, and distributes among his relations and creatures, those which he does not take for himself: the consequence of this is a general revolution in the government. In short, he has schemes of grandeur and elevation quite foreign to our sex.

I have read in the annals of our monarchy that Richelieu's ambition brought a thousand mischiefs on France: that favourite of Lewis XIII. sacrificed every thing to a giddy desire of appearing to be the only person of consequence in the kingdom. He cut the very sinews of the political power of all other bodies. He annulled the privileges of the nobility, which alone could make any stand against the despotism of our Kings; and therein he did more harm to France, than ever it has to fear from any mistresses.

Mazarine, the second favourite, had an army in pay, and personally made war on the state. He imprisoned the princes of the blood, and raised such animosities and disturbances as in a manner subverted all government. He got the public treasure into his possession; almost all the money

of the kingdom was in his coffers. He used to sell the principal state employments: when the King wanted money he was obliged to apply to him. And our times have seen Count Bruhl, the King of Poland's favourite exceed his master, in extravagance.

There are, at this time, several Dukes in the kingdom * who give France cause to remember that its Kings have had favourites; whereas what great fortune, what titles or distinctions has my brother Marigni? Die when he will, he will leave no monuments of the particular favour with which Lewis the XVth honoured me.

I have been likewise accused of introducing into the ministry persons of no turn for business, ignorant, shallow, and superficial fellows: but where shall I find any other in France? The human mind seems to have been degenerated among us.

The French nobility, though most concerned in the public administration, give no attention to business; their life is a round of indolence, luxury, and dissipation. They know as little of politics as of finances and œconomy. A gentleman either spends his life at his seat in rural sports, or comes to Paris to ruin himself with an opera girl. They who have an ambition to figure in the ministry, have no other merit than intrigue and cabal. If they are traversed in their views, or afterwards superseded, such measure is with them an effect of the prince's prejudice.

The age of able ministers in France seems past. After all my inquiries for a Colbert and Louvois, I could only meet with Chamillards and Dubois's; so that I was forced to commit all the branches of government to financiers by profession; a set of

* The duke of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury.

people void of capacity, and only skilful in one thing, which is pillaging the state.

My enemies have farther affirmed, that I put the King on too frequent a change of his ministers; but that is an invention, which, in no wise, belongs to me. Before ever I knew the court, placemen were not more settled in their posts than since. Every day saw such creations and institutions; and this, perhaps, may still be a necessary evil in France. Before those gentlemen are in place, nothing can come up to their plan of government; they have effectual ways and means for reforming every thing that is amiss; they know the seat of the disease, and what will remove it: but no sooner have they got the reins of government in their hands, than their incapacity throws every thing into confusion. On the public misfortunes they scarce bestow a thought; all they mind is their own personal interest. The ambition of being prime minister soon gets footing in them; and its continual agitation leaves no room in their mind for any attention to the kingdom. Ten years of administration in France make a minister so absolute, that he grows a mere Pacha; any intimation of his is a peremptory order: the Grand Signior is not more despotic at Constantinople than a French Secretary of State, after spending ten years at Versailles.

It is the same with military affairs, however brave and courageous the French nobility may be, they have little or no genius for war: the hardship of a campaign immediately puts them out of conceit. France has no military school*. A young nobleman is made a Colonel before he is an officer, and then steps into the general command, without any experience. If two Frenchmen are appointed

* The military school was but just instituted.

to command the armies in Flanders or Germany, immediately the spirit of envy kindles among them, and they will gratify their private piques and quarrels, whatever becomes of the state. In the mean time, the enemy profit by these divisions, and forward their schemes. In the late war, the King was obliged to commit the safety of his crown to two foreigners; had it not been for the Counts Saxe and Lowendahl, the enemies of France might have been at the gates of Paris.

It is a mistake to think that a woman, who is in distinguished favour with a Prince, stands in need of weak ministers and bad generals to support her: incapacity spoils all and answers no purpose. Political mistakes, at the same time that they throw a shade on the Prince's glory, utterly efface the lustre of his favourite. I can truly say, that most of the vexations I have gone through, since my residence at court, proceeded from hence. On every advantage gained by our enemies the king used to be melancholy and full of thought; and though this Prince be extremely polite, and not one disobliging word came from his mouth, yet his discomposure, at that time, embittered every other enjoyment of my life.

I never made a minister, I never advised the King to confer the command of an army on any person, of whose abilities I was not certainly convinced, and whose merit was not universally confessed. The great used to compliment me on it, and the King himself congratulated me on my good judgment of men; their fitness was proclaimed by the universal voice.

I must here mention the troubles the court laboured under, when the King gave me an apartment at Versailles; the occurrences of those times belonging to the plan of these Memoirs. Without

that crowd of incidents which then fell out, and which the King used to communicate to me, my favour perhaps had never risen to such a height: for the events of this world are always directed by second causes.

Ever since the year 1741, France had continued to wage war in Italy, in Flanders, and in Germany. Charles the VIth. the last male descendant of the house of Austria by the male side, had an ambition, which was not to be limited even by death; he was for surviving himself, and transmitting his power beyond the grave.

This Prince, after acquiring a very large extent of dominions, had procured them to be guaranteed by the chief powers of christendom. The small military force at that time on foot in Europe, had induced the Christian Princes, to such a weak compliance. Italy was quite spent; all the petty governments of the empire were under a political slavery; and the great houses of the North were little better. On the decease of that Prince all began to breathe, and every one claimed their respective right.

The Elector of Bavaria demanded a part of the succession; Augustus King of Poland set forth his pretensions; the King of Spain likewise put in for a share: and, what is more, there appeared two pragmatic sanctions; one giving the Austrian dominions to the Archduchess, spouse to the Polish Prince; and the other securing them to Maria Theresa, Charles's eldest daughter. Such a contrariety of interests must of course give rise to a general war; but it began from a quarter which policy would never have apprehended.

The King of Prussia, almost the only Prince in Europe who had no pretensions to the Austrian succession, yet made his demands, and, instead of manifestoes, asserted them by the sword. His
troops

troops invaded the very best province of all the Queen of Hungary's dominions, and made themselves masters of it. The crown was of no long standing in the Brandenburg family : it had first obtained the title of Majesty from the Emperor Leopold ; and this honour had little added to its real greatness. The King of Prussia was of little account among the European potentates ; and what claims he had to any of the Austrian effects were merely on a private account ; and turn on the restitution of some duchies, which his family had been possessed of by right of purchase ; yet he invades Silesia as a sovereign.

I have heard that Maria Theresa was on the brink of ruin, when her very enemies saved her. The Hungarians, who for ages past had been endeavouring to overthrow that family, now, one and all, vigorously rose in her defence.

The Duke of Belleisle told me, that this change in the political world was wrought by that Princess's haranguing them in Latin ; " a great change, indeed (added he), for had the Hungarians abandoned that princess, very probably we should have heard no more of the house of Austria."

Lewis XV. joined with the King of Prussia to place the Elector of Bavaria on the Imperial throne ; besides the diversion occasioned in the North by the election, the King said, that the house of Bourbon was now discharging an old debt with Bavaria.

Were gratitude of any weight in the conduct of Sovereigns, France might indeed be thought to have taken arms in return for its obligations to the Electors of Bavaria, who have ever been firm allies to this crown, and had sustained very considerable losses in its cause.

The house of Bourbon joined with that of Brandenburg to weaken the succession of Charles VI; besides, the exaltation of a Prince of the house of Bavaria to the Imperial throne secured to France an ascendancy in Germany.

It has been reported that the King of Prussia, at first, offered Maria Theresa money and troops to maintain her right against the other powers, on condition of her ceding Lower Silesia to him. Had she agreed to this, the affairs of Europe would have taken a different turn. But, from what I have perceived since my living at Versailles, Princes often make a tender of what they have no mind to give. This the Marshal de Noailles called *political compliments*.

Frederick had a sure game of it; and it is seldom that Princes ask of others what they can get by themselves. The house of Austria was not able to make head against his invasion of Silesia; nothing was in readiness for preventing it; therefore France in a manner could do no otherwise than declare for the Prussian Monarch. Accordingly the treaty was made; and to give it the greater weight the King of Poland was made a party; he then little thought that this same Frederic would one day invade his dominions.

This confederacy was the basis of several others: the Palatinate, Spain, and Italy came into the plan; Spain wanted to procure Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneze, for Don Philip.

All the negotiations in Germany were committed to the Marshal Belleisle. The poor Elector of Bavaria, who was to be made Emperor, had not wherewith to raise six regiments; so that, in the war which we were now undertaking for his sake, every thing was to be furnished him. France as it were armed him from head to foot; and made him her Lieutenant General in Germany: and thus

thus the successor of the Cæsars became a subaltern officer of the house of Bourbon: however, in consequence of his title, an army was sent for him to command.

Whilst one party was forming to overthrow the house of Austria, another was gathering to prevent its fall. Holland and England, whose common interest it was that there should be a power in Germany able to cope with Versailles, were already making preparations for a German war; but hitherto the house of Austria received only pecuniary aids.

Prague was taken, and the Elector of Bavaria proclaimed King of Bohemia, and soon after Emperor. This last title he first received from Marshal Belleisle: thus a subject of the King of France disposes of a throne, which anciently, had disposed of all the empires of the world.

This Marshal has since said to me, that the court of Versailles overshot itself, and that the war had been begun where it should have ended. The armies of the King of France and the Elector of Bavaria, together with the Saxon troops, were not sufficient for keeping the countries which it was necessary to reduce.

The victors advanced without ever looking behind them, till Marshal Belleisle, foreseeing that these victories would soon occasion defeats, thought it proper to be indisposed, and ask leave to retire. Marshal Broglio was dispatched to him, and on taking a view of things, soon saw into the cause of Belleisle's indisposition. Six years after, these two Generals being in my apartment, the latter said to the other concerning this affair, *saith, Marshal, you played me a scurvy trick there.*

The Hungarian, made good all losses of men : and I have been since told by connoisseurs in military affairs, that of infantry we sent a sufficiency, but had forgot cavalry, which, in Germany, is the more necessary body.

The King of Prussia's drift was to profit by the disadvantages of his allies : he had made conquests, which he carefully kept to himself, regardless of the losses of his allies ; but he still wanted a decisive victory to make himself dreaded by the house of Austria, with whom he was already disposed to come to terms. He fought the battle of Czaïlaw, which terminating in a complete victory on his side, he remained inactive, and soon after struck up a peace with Maria Theresa.

Every thing now went against France ; her troops were driven from their posts, her convoys intercepted, her magazines seized, and the far greater part of the army perished by sickness.

Then it was that the French Generals discovered the Prussian Monarch's temper. Marshal Belleisle has often told me, that he had seen into his way of thinking ; but judged that the progress of the French arms in Germany would force him to be faithful to the alliance. So true is this, added he, that on the first rumour of our misfortunes, I said to M. de Broglie, *the King of Prussia now will shift sides.*

One of the articles of the treaty was, to renounce his alliance with the house of Bourbon ; and thus the French troops were sacrificed.

For that, said a very knowing man to me, not long since, we may thank the council of Versailles, which, instead of such a body of troops as would have been equal to any undertaking, had only sent small armies, whose sickness ruined them as fast as they came.

The

The Emperor, being but ill assisted by France, was flying before his enemies ; he had quitted his capital, and was at a loss where to shelter himself. His destiny seemed the more melancholy, as he was on the point of being tumbled down from the highest pitch of human exaltation.

Of all his mortifications the most severe certainly was his being forced to become a suppliant to his capital enemy, the Queen of Hungary. He made her an offer to limit his ambition to the imperial crown, and desist from all his claims to the Austrian succession.

But things now went so well with Maria Theresa, that, instead of a moderate answer to these proposals, she very nearly called him rebel, and driving him out of Bavaria, signified to him that the only safe shelter for him in Germany was the territory of the empire.

England's hands were tyed ; Maillebois, at the head of a large body of troops, had obliged George II. to sign a treaty of neutrality, and the Dutch were unable and as little disposed to interfere in the affairs of Germany.

Robert Walpole, then the ruling minister in Great Britain, was all for peace, as understanding nothing of war. Every minister in Europe, (as a man of great wit, who often came to me at Versailles, pointed out to me) has his peculiar talents, according to which he gives the bias to public affairs. Walpole's system was that the power of Great Britain lay in trade, and that such a nation is to keep clear of sieges and battles.

The king shewed me several of that minister's letters to Cardinal Fleury. In one he says,

" I engage to keep the parliament to a peaceable disposition, if you will bridle the martial ardour of your people ; for a minister in England cannot do every thing," &c. &c.

In

In another,

*" I have a deal of difficulty to keep our people
" from coming to blows; not that they are bent on
" war, but because I am for preserving peace; for
" our English politicians must be ever skirmishing,
" either in the field or at Westminster.*

In a third letter he expresses himself thus :

*" I pension half the parliament to keep it quiet;
" but as the King's money is not sufficient, and they
" to whom I give none, clamour loudly for a war, it
" would be expedient for your Eminence to remit
" me three millions of French livres, in order to
" silence these barkers. Gold is a metal which bere
" corrects ill qualities in the blood. A pension of
" two thousand pounds a year will make the most
" impetuous warrior in parliament as tame as a
" lamb. In short, should England break out, you
" will, besides the uncertainty of events in war, be
" under the necessity of paying larger subsidies to
" foreign powers, to be on an equality with us;
" whereas, by furnishing me with a little money,
" you purchase peace at the first hand." &c. &c.*

But Walpole having been obliged to quit the ministry, Great Britain sided with the house of Austria. She was already at war with Spain. The English sent a large army into Flanders, before ever the court of Versailles had thought of garri-soning its strong places, so that the way lay open for them into France; and why they did not enter it, will ever remain a secret. A British minister has since told me, that there were at that time too many malecontents in the army; and that the invasion of France was omitted, purely in spite to a party, who had ever maintained, that the only way to restore the balance of Germany, was to penetrate beyond Flanders. Thus, added the minister by way of reflection, our government which

is

is looked on as one of the best modelled in Europe, is sacrificed to private passions.

Prague, that city on which France had founded all its hopes, began to be despaired of; and from thence it was that, some time after, Belleisle made that fine retreat, with which, every day of his life afterwards I was sure to be entertained; for the old man was very vain. He used to say, it was the finest military performance the age had seen.

All Europe was in a ferment. Italy had taken arms to defend a liberty which it no longer enjoyed. I have been told that the Pope himself entered into treaties tending to continue and spread the war.

The balance of Europe seems to have been the point in question; but all states aimed at giving France some underhand wounds.

Cardinal Fleury, though he had avoided war, had not studied peace so much as he ought. He had, for some years past, perfectly doated through length of age, and his sticklers took his reveries for so many refined strokes of policy.

Some people in France have greatly cried up his order and œconomy, whereas they were nothing more than the effects of his niggardliness; for so penurious was he, that he never could prevail on himself to furnish his house. All the affairs of France favoured of avarice and parsimony.

On his death, the King became his own master; for till then Lewis had been in reality only the second person in the state: but he made not the least alteration in the tenour of affairs. The same faults went on; so that a judicious person who, at that time, had a place at court, told me lately, that things looked as if the Cardinal had been living after his death, small armies being sent into Germany, by way of œconomy; which all perished like the former.

mer. The Dutch, after many prayers and threats, had declared themselves.

I have been told by a person who has made it his business to observe the policy of every nation, that the Dutch have two maxims from which they never depart, the first is, whatever wars arise between the great powers, to be always neuter, that they may engross the whole commerce of Europe. The second is, to watch the moment of France's being over-powered by its enemies, and then declare against it. It was unquestionably in consequence of the latter, that they joined their troops to those of England, and took the field. This last alliance was offensive and defensive, and all Europe found itself in a state of war.

Germany, Holland, Flanders, Piedmont, and every part of Italy, swarmed with soldiers. The Count d'Argenson calculated that Europe had then nine hundred thousand men on foot, ready to cut each others throats, without any known reason. Particularly France was ruining its finances, and losing the flower of its people, to no manner of purpose; for, after all, said an able politician to me one day, on this head, what was an Elector of Bavaria's being Emperor of Germany to us; or Don Philip being Duke of Parma? I shall never forget what I read in Voltaire concerning this: *It was, says he, a game that Princes were playing all over Europe, hazarding, pretty equally, their people's blood and treasure; and by a medley of fine actions, faults, and losses, keeping fortune a long time suspended.* It must be observed that, amidst all this fighting, no war had been declared; the greater part of the troops slaughtered each other only as auxiliaries.

Charles VII. the cause of this general conflagration, had now neither subjects nor dominions left; he

he was not allowed so much as to bear the title of Emperor, the only honour remaining to him; and his election was declared all over Germany to be null and void; so that he saw himself reduced to accept of a neutrality in his own cause. This step alone ought to have put an end to the German war; but, by my own experience, I have since known, that princes do not make war from any connected system, but only as coinciding with the motions of second causes.

The large French armies were now withdrawn out of Germany; indeed most of the troops left there had been made prisoners of war. The Marshal de Noailles has several times said to me, that of all the political errors committed in Europe for these thousand years past, the German war was the greatest.

In reading the history of that time, it appeared to me, that of all the princes engaged in the war, Emanuel King of Sardinia was the only one who had any shadow of reason for it. France was for settling contiguous to his dominions, a prince of the house of Bourbon, whose settlement must have been highly inconvenient to him; accordingly, in order to exclude this dangerous neighbour, he struck in with the enemies of France. From the beginning of the war, this prince had assisted the house of Austria, and now entered into a treaty with it. England supplied him with money to defray the charges of the war: but the Queen of Hungary went farther, conferring on him a little state, which did not belong to her*.

France, in 1744, declared war against England, and the house of Austria; and soon after this de-

* The country of Final, which belonged to the Genoese.

claration, a great project was taken in hand: overtures were made to Prince Edward, the Pretender's son, for recovering the throne of his ancestors.

He was a spirited, bold, courageous young man, quite tired of leading an indolent life at Rome, and impatient to signalize himself.

The house of Stuart is so unfortunate, that I question, whether it would be in the power of all Europe joined, to restore it to its antient rights. There seems something of a fatality annexed to that name.

France made all the preparatives in his favour, and gave him all the assistance which the posture of affairs could admit of; but the whole design miscarried. A long time after, I, one day, asked the King, whether it had been his real intention, to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain? his answer was, that neither he nor his council ever thought it practicable; that this restoration depended on a multitude of second causes, the course of which was no longer under any political direction. The Marshal de Noailles one day said to him in my hearing, *Sir, if your Majesty would have had mafs said in London, you should have sent an army of three hundred thousand men to officiate at it.*

In the mean time, young Edward, eager of doing something to be talked of, put to sea, and had a distant view of the kingdom, the possession of which both fate and policy denied to him. A tempest disappointed his landing, and scattered his fleet; yet the ardent Pretender would, in spite of the wind, make his landing good, and fight alone against all England. Versailles had received the most particular assurances, that he had a very strong party at London, and it was on this plan that the expedition had been formed.

It

It is not very long since I happened to be at the Marshal Belleisle's; as he was looking for some writings in his closet, he put a paper into my hand, saying, *There, Madam, there is something for you to read; that letter has cost us a great many millions, which are gone to the bottom of the sea; it was directed to the court of France, by a party of Jacobites, as they are called in England. The words of it were these.*

*"The tabernacle is ready, the holy sacrament
"need but appear, and we will go and meet it
"with the cross. The procession will be numerous,
"but the people here being very hard of belief, sol-
"diers and arms will be necessary; for it is only
"by powder and ball, that the system of transub-
"stantiation can be made to go down in England.
"Depend on it, that we will do every thing to the
"utmost of our power; and we can before hand
"assure you, that the landing once made, our party
"will have nothing to do but to pronounce these
"words: ite, Missa est.*

In this letter were mentioned twenty-two persons, several of whom now hold a considerable rank in England. Sometime after, he showed me another, the tenor of which is this.

*"Whatever people say, the expedition is not
"difficult: a landing may easily be made, every thing
"favours the revolution; the advantages religion
"gives us, will be greatly strengthened by political
"motives. The Hanoverian is hated, he is conti-
"nually oppressing the nation, aiming both at absolute
"power, and draining the people's substance."*

The attempt on England failing, fresh efforts were made in Italy for settling Don Philip; but this the King of Sardinia, who has the key of the Alps, opposed; and the Prince of Conti engaged to make his way through them. This was in some measure

measure warring against God, who has separated the two states by inaccessible mountains. I have had several times read to me in my apartment, the transactions of that Prince in those impracticable climates; the taking Chateau Dauphin, and his other successes amidst those rocks and precipices: and the Prince of Conti in this expedition appears to me greater than many heroes whose fame is high; but great men have not always justice done them.

Lewis XV. who never had seen an army, was now for putting himself at the head of his troops, and determined to make his first campaign in Flanders. On his arrival, Courtray surrendered; and soon after Menin followed its example. The King himself, to the great encouragement of the soldiery, used to be present at the works.

This first campaign of the King's having been much talked of in France; on the peace, I asked his Majesty, whether he had found in himself a fixed inclination for war. He at first eluded answering me, and talked in general terms; but a year after, in one of those moments of confidence, when the heart lays itself open in the arms of friendship, he told me it would have been his reigning passion; and that, without the recent example of his great-grand-father, and Cardinal Fleury's earnest councils to him, he should totally have given himself up to war: but that the affection due to his people had got the better of his passion. Happy government, when the Monarch sacrifices his propensions to the welfare of his subjects!

Lewis was obliged to quit his first conquests, and fly to the assistance of Alsace, Prince Charles having passed the Rhine to invade several of the French provinces; but upon the King's approach at the head of his army, the prince repassed the Rhine.

All

All the advantages which France had gained in Flanders did not much improve its situation. The Queen of Hungary's alliance with England, Holland, Sardinia, and Saxony was too great a counterpoize. The king of Prussia himself made a convention with Great Britain, but had not included in his agreement that the house of Austria should become so powerful. In treaties between Sovereigns, it is always understood, that the party in favour of whom a neutrality is observed, shall not increase his forces beyond a certain relative proportion: now the house of Brandenburg has more to fear from that of Austria than from any other in Europe; so he kept himself a mere spectator of the war, whilst the losses of France and the emperor were inconsiderable; but on the queen's making a rapid progress, he armed to stop her career. I have since frequently asked the Marshal de Noailles, one of the greatest politicians in France, why Sovereign Princes make no scruple to commit these breaches of faith, which in common life are reckoned intolerable vices? His constant answer was, that these infractions were necessary, and that Europe even owed its safety to them: were it not for such failures, the universal commonwealth would soon be made subject to one single prince; and this he might compass, only by once bringing the others to stand neuter.

The King of Prussia's first step, after his new alliance with France, was, to march with a powerful army towards Prague. Whilst all France was rejoicing at Frederic's successes, advice came that the King was taken ill at Metz, and the symptoms were grown very dangerous: this caused a general affliction; I remember every body was in tears. These cordial marks of affection are a higher praise, and express his character better than all the flatter-
tering

tering strokes with which writers will disfigure his history. I have talked with many who were present at the death of Lewis XIV. and according to them, not a tear was shed in France. Nobody was afflicted with the news; and his death was quite forgot before he was buried; heroism being less esteemed than goodness; and Lewis XV. is the best Prince that ever sat on a throne.

The beloved Monarch recovered, and then the nation's joy exceeded its former consternation. He laid siege to Friburg in Brisgau, and razed its fortifications, as he had demolished those of other places which had yielded to his arms: A policy, which, perhaps, may prevent many wars hereafter.

M. de Maurepas was saying one day to me on this head, that the Turks and Persians have scarce any fortified places, and that was the reason of their seldom making war on one another. I have since heard, that most of our wars in Europe were owing to this; that states confided too much in bastions and citadels, which hindered negotiations from taking effect. If so, the famous Vauban, whose genius is so often extolled, must have done a great deal of mischief to France.

In the mean time, the King of Prussia, who by arming in favour of France, had changed all the German systems, decamped from Prague; his army fled before that of Prince Charles, who, repassing the Rhine in the sight of the French, crossed the Elbe to attack the Prussians. I never could come at a certain knowledge of this Prince Charles, who directed most of the plans of this war; some speaking so very well of him, and others so very ill, that I have not been able to form any settled judgment of his character.

Marshal Noailles, who knows men, has told me
that

that this Prince wanted neither talents nor genius, but that the goodness of his heart frustrated the qualities of his mind. Instead of having a will of his own, added he, he suffers himself to be directed by those about him; and these are not always the best head-pieces in the world. For instance, continued he, Prince Charles is now at Brussels as Governor of the Low Countries; but there is a German about him, who turns and winds him at his pleasure, and his pleasure is not always what should be.

The Austrian power, which had been weakened by the king of Prussia's joining with France, now received an increase by an alliance with the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland. This Monarch changed measures for the same reason which had induced the King of Prussia to change.

All parties in these treaties deceived each other. France looked for mighty advantages from a diversion which the King of Prussia was making only for himself; and the King of Poland, who had engaged to furnish the Queen with thirty thousand men, had a part of Silesia given to him, which now did not belong to her.

Elevated with this alliance, and especially the assistance of England, the council at Vienna hoped not only to recover Silesia, but even to reduce French Flanders. They certainly did not consider that Lewis XV. had committed the security of it to one, who was most likely to give a good account of it to the kingdom: This was Count Maurice of Saxony.

Other officers owe their abilities to age, reflection and experience, but he was born a General. His very enemies (and these at Versailles were not few) have done him this justice, that never man surpassed him for a quick and comprehensive penetration.

tion. He instantly discerned what other commanders discovered only by time and circumstances. Maurice not only foresaw events, but also produced them; so that he may in some measure be said to have determined fate. This general made war geometrically, never coming to a battle till he had in demonstration gained it. He was said also to be possessed of the great Turenne's distinguishing qualities, that is, to harass and perplex the enemy by his dexterity in encamping and decamping; a kind of petty war, which seldom fails of leading to great advantages.

This picture, however, is none of my own; I only speak after some of the trade, who used to talk to me in this manner.

Whilst the war was prospering abroad, things went wrong at home. The King was at a loss for ministers. The Count de Maurepas put the marine in as good a condition as the English and the state of affairs would allow: but the other departments were in a terrible disorder. The foreign affairs were offered to one Villeneuve, an old man, who had been a long time ambassador at the Porte, where, though his merit has been much cried up, he had ruined the Turkey trade, by turning merchant himself. He came home from his embassy with immense riches, chiefly extorted from the merchants of Marseilles. His principal qualities were management and parsimony. These virtues, so much countenanced by Cardinal Fleury, were greatly in vogue at Versailles. Niggardliness bore the sway. The decrepid ambassador declined the post, doubtless as being attended with more pains than profit. Besides, I have heard those who knew him personally, say, that he was not in the least fit for that branch of government. His abilities had been much talked of, for having brought about a peace between the Porte and the house of Austria;

Austria; but at Constantinople, these sort of negotiations are carried on without a minister's having any great share in them. I have it from M. de Maurepas, that the chief instrument in that affair, was a French linguist, one de Laria, who was perfectly well acquainted with the temper of the Turks, and had been employed by Villeneuve in that negotiation.

In the mean time, affairs in Italy did not go so well as could be wished; Don Philip had taken and retaken Savoy, but could not make his way into the country of Placentia.

The King of Naples, whom only a captain of an English ship had compelled to a neutrality, because he was not in a condition to arm, broke it as soon as he had got himself in readiness for war.

He had advanced as far as Veletri, where Prince Lobkowitz endeavouring to surprise him, was himself surprised. The loss was great on both sides, and, as I have heard from very experienced officers, the case was then as it almost ever is on such occasions, they both weakened themselves, and without any advantage even to the victor.

Lobkowitz fled before the King of Naples, who pursued him into the Ecclesiastical State; so that Rome itself was in a consternation, on seeing two armies at its gates.

A small event, which fell out at this time in Germany, shews the great injustice of war, in making the belligerent powers overlook the very laws of nations, which should every where be inviolable.

The King had sent Marshal Belleisle to several German courts in quality of his ambassador, and, as such, he was negotiating the affairs of the crown: yet this minister, in his way along the skirts of the country of Hanover, was seized, and sent over to England as a state prisoner.

This

This general was treated with great regard, and one of the royal seats appointed for his residence; but this splendid hospitality only the more exposed the injustice of that nation.

The Marshal has since told me, that he was not at all sorry for his detention, as it had given him an opportunity of studying the temper of that capricious people in their own country. I have heard him say a hundred times that a Briton was the ridicule of human nature; he would say, it is easy to discern what the bulk of the nation is, but there is no knowing the individuals. According to him, a definition may be given of the English in general, but it is impossible to say what an Englishman is.

Vienna, Berlin and Versailles, were busied in the same plans which had been concerted in the council, when an unforeseen event brought on some change in the dispositions. Charles VII. that unfortunate emperor, who had not known a moment's quiet on the august throne of the Cæsars, died. If it be nature only which can make men happy, he was of all men the most miserable. He had long laboured under great pains and sufferings from the badness of his constitution; and ambition, which is ever the predominant distemper in sovereigns, added to his bodily pains: amidst his infirmities, all his thoughts were about securing himself on a throne, which the ill state of his health was soon to deprive him of. Many were the vicissitudes of his reign. He was once very near being without a place to hide his head. He has often been obliged to quit his capital, and shift his abode; so that the successor of the masters of the world was sometimes without either house or home.

He was paid by France for being Emperor. He had an allowance of six millions of livres to support a rank which, for that very reason, did not belong to him. They who are acquainted with the causes

of

of the rise and fall of the houses, say, that the misfortunes of that of Bavaria were owing to its alliance with that of Bourbon; and this, it seems, will ever be the case of petty states uniting with the greater.

On the decease of Charles VII. France looked out for an Emperor in Germany; for, that Charles's son could quietly succeed his father, was impossible. He was not of a proper age; neither had he the means to maintain himself on the Imperial throne, even had there been an intention to place him on it: yet was he thought of, but no farther than in appearance; it was only a feigned scheme. A very sensible man was lately saying to me, There is a meanness in princes which I cannot forgive: they feign to wish what they do not intend, and yet act as if they did intend it. This duplicity has cost the lives of multitudes of brave men, and ruins the commonwealth.

Some fruitless strokes were again struck for insuring the Imperial sceptre to a Prince, who was known not to be able to keep it; but the young Elector, with more wisdom than his father, renounced a throne on which his allies could not maintain him, and thereby did more good to France, than could have accrued to her from the most happy successes of her policy.

A tender was then made to the King of Poland; and in this choice, France had the advantage of detaching from the house of Austria a powerful Sovereign. It has been said that the Elector of Saxony declined the empire: but Marshal Belleisle told me, that he could not accept of it, and that he saw the impracticability of such a thing, on the very first mention made to him of it. A King of

Poland, Emperor of Germany, would have thrown all the northern courts into a flame; and this double Monarch would have had as many wars on his hands, as there were then Sovereigns in Germany. Thus seeing the impossibility of such an acquisition, he made a merit with the Queen of Hungary of his inability, entering into a closer alliance with her, for placing the great Duke of Tuscany, her spouse, on the throne of the Cæsars. Could it be thought that policy was no motive herein, the King of Poland might be accounted a Prince of eminent probity. He had a defensive treaty with the Queen of Hungary, so that he sacrificed his ambition to that alliance; a very rare procedure in the history of sovereigns!

The Prince of Soubise, talking over these matters with me, said, that the irregularity of the treaties in Germany, after the death of Charles VII. had forced France to be more regular in its conduct relating to the northern affairs; and ever since it has kept itself to a defensive war, which certainly was its only proper policy.

Germany being left to itself, Flanders became the seat of action. Maurice had prepared every thing there for one of those bold strokes which determine the destiny of states. He laid siege to Tournay, the King himself being present in person; this siege endangered Holland, which on this occasion was eager for coming to blows.

It was with astonishment I read in the annals of those times, that this tribe of merchants, who have no thoughts beyond trade and parsimony, should now have been the first in calling for a battle, the loss of which might have been fatal to the republic.

The

The battle of Fontenoy was fought, and the allies lost it. This victory has made a great noise in the world; but by the detail which a general officer at my desire gave me of it, I do not find it to be one of those events which greatly heighten a nation's glory.

The French army was much more numerous than the allies, and both the King and Dauphin were present; the presence of these two Princes, thus eye-witnesses of the bravery of their troops, created a second courage, which in gaining victories goes farther than the first: the magazines were full; the soldiers wanted for nothing; the household-troops were there; and the whole was commanded by an experienced general, whom the troops idolized, as capable of the greatest enterprizes: the Princes of the blood, the Dukes, Peers, and almost all the nobility of the kingdom, fought along with the soldiery, sharing their dangers and glory; in a word, the whole French monarchy was present at Fontenoy. If, with all these advantages, the allies had got the better, there would have been an end of the monarchy; for the enemy was marching to the gates of Paris. I am far from intending here to lessen the glory of Marshal Saxe, who conducted the action.

He has often given me an account of it since the peace, and I find that here, tho' then very low in health, he surpassed himself. His thoughts were every where, and he remedied every thing: whatever an able commander could do, he really performed. Some persons of the trade, however, have affirmed to me, that very great faults were committed that day; and that to repair them, it was frequently necessary to disobey the General's orders.

ders. The Duke de Biron took on himself to keep the post of Antoin, though he had been expressly ordered to quit it. But in my opinion, one of the most considerable was, leaving the King and the Dauphin, during the whole action, on the spot where they had placed themselves. A general rout, and this rout was two or three times very near happening, would have exposed France to the worst of misfortunes.

It has been said in several histories, that the Marshal was so confident of gaining the battle, that he made no doubt of it; but he has often told me himself, that two or three times he apprehended it lost, and that he had always doubted of the victory till the household had charged. One evident proof of his uncertainty was, his sending two or three times to the King to withdraw.

I was extremely uneasy about this important event, when a letter was brought me from his Majesty. I opened it with trembling hands, and found it as follows:

From the camp at Fontenoy, an hour after the battle.

“MADAM,

“I saw all lost, till Marshal Saxe retrieved all;
 “he has surpassed himself in this action; my
 “troops fought with invincible courage; the
 “household especially performed wonders; I owe
 “the victory to that corps. The French noblesse
 “fought under my eye; it was with pleasure I
 “beheld their heroic valour.”

* * * * *

These three lines were in cyphers.

This

This letter was very acceptable, and removed all my fears.

From the time of the King's departure from France, I had often converse with the Abbe de Bernis, who had been recommended to me to keep me company during the King's absence.

He had been introduced into the great world by women; for he had all those little talents with which our sex are so taken, compliance, affability, genteel ways, suppleness, gaiety, fluency of speech, a smooth tongue, a pretty knack at versifying, and all those qualities set off with a very handsome person.

This Abbe was never at a loss for well turned compliments to the ladies, so that he was always welcome among the sex. As in our first conversations he never dropt the least intimation about preferment; I imagined that, at last, I had met with a truly worthy person, one whose noble soul soared above riches and honour. But I was mistaken; this Abbe was eaten up with a desire of court distinction, concealing an unbounded ambition under a hypocritical disinterestedness. His apartment, as I have been informed, was, as it were, a perfect ware-house of memoirs; some related to the farms of the revenues, others to œconomy, some concerning war, some the navy, and others the finances. He had a wonderful readiness at forming projects. He could scheme any thing he had a mind to.

The action of Fontenoy led the way to other conquests in Austrian Flanders, and the Flemings every where received Lewis XV. with the loudest acclamations. I have read in most of the revolu-

tions of the world, that the people greatly rejoice at a change of masters.

This victory caused a general revolution; the Germans and English determined to break into the kingdom. They made their way by Provence and Bretagne, but they only shewed themselves. The Austrians passed the Var, and then repassed it. The English landed and returned to their ships. Our modern history is full of these military follies. Posterity will ever be at a loss why General Sinclair, who commanded in this expedition, after bringing a French city to capitulate, moved off without reaping the fruits of the capitulation.

They who shall read the annals of our age, will scarce believe that the cabinets of Europe could have committed so many faults, and that the Generals of armies could have fallen into so many errors.

The Genoese, who had introduced the Spaniards into Italy, were forsaken by them; so that the state of Genoa was invaded by the Austrians, who even made themselves masters of the capital. They first required of the Genoese what money they had, and after stripping them, demanded still more.

In the mean time the German army was in pursuit of the French and Spaniards, and crossing the Var after them, took post in Provence. Botta, in whose care the city had been left, and who was at St. Peter des Arenes, forgot that he had no army to keep it, and that what remained in that suburb, was only a sickly half-dead multitude; the consequence of which was a sudden revolution, too strong for him to suppress.

The

The Genoese, whom a large army had awed into submission, recovered their freedom on its departure. Here Botta was guilty of a great oversight; he proposed to the senate to join him against the rebels, as he called them, not perceiving that they underhand encouraged the insurrection: they readily promised to act in concert with him; but this was only to give the people time to gather and unite their strength: it was too late when the general came to be aware of their design; he fled with such precipitancy, as to leave all his magazines behind.

The King shewed me a letter sent to court from a Genoese Senator, giving a particular account of the whole transaction; the beginning, progress, and end of the scheme laid for shaking off the Austrian yoke. The great council had for some time secretly promoted it. It was not setting the Genoese to draw cannon, which occasioned its revolution; it might indeed hasten the execution of it; but the plan had been concerted long before: thus is posterity often misled in histories, attributing to accident what was the effect of premeditated design.

This deliverance was attended with another happiness to Genoa; it had at that time no citizen who could have deprived the Republic of its liberty. The juncture was extremely favourable; the people had got the whole power of the state into their hands. Now I have heard our politicians say, that on such junctures, giving money, and granting privileges, will carry every point.

This revolution, which seemed only a private concern, changed the system of general affairs.

The Austrians, who intended to besiege Toulon,

and lay Marseilles under contribution, were obliged to repass the Var, for want both of shelter and provisions.

The court of Vienna, inflamed at this event, blocked up Genoa, and threatened the inhabitants with the severest treatment, if they did not immediately surrender; but the Genoese, being supported by the French, made a vigorous resistance, without being intimidated by menaces; and Boufflers, and afterwards the Duke de Richlieu, were sent to command there. M. Maurepas has often told me, that it was a great oversight in the English, who blocked up Genoa by sea, in not having a number of flat-bottomed boats to hinder any French succours from getting into Genoa.

This precaution would have changed the whole disposition of affairs in Italy. Genoa, then incapable of any further resistance, must have surrendered to the Austrians, and the Infant Don Philip, the subject of the war, would never have seen Parma and Placentia.

Lewis XV. after taking seven fine cities in Flanders, returned to Paris; and it may be said that never was such joy displayed in that city, as at the sight of this Prince; every street rang with shouts of gladness and applause.

Amidst the many checks which England had met with in Flanders, the Pretender conveyed himself into Scotland. As he had neither armies nor ships, some courtiers said, *he had swam thither*. It was not very difficult to foresee the issue of this enterprize, every step and circumstance of it being irregular. A very intelligent man told me at that time, that the most fortunate thing which could happen to the Pretender, would be

be to get out of Scotland as clandestinely as he got in: but he was a young man, rather fond of executing his projects in a singular manner, than concerned about the success of them.

This enterprize, however ill conducted, had one advantage for Versailles, that it caused a diversion in England. France has always made use of the house of Stuart for its private views. I am sorry that George II. who wanted neither courage nor firmness, should have ~~shown~~ any uneasiness at it. An English nobleman told me, that he caused the London militia to take an oath, that they did not in any-wise believe that the pope had ever a right of causing Princes to be murdered. He also had the records of Rochester searched, for the form of the excommunication anciently denounced by the Popes, to stimulate the English against the see of Rome. I would not have Princes stoop to trifles, which always betray a weak mind; a prince on the throne should act with magnanimity.

The Pretender published a manifesto in vindication of his rights, addressed to the people of England; but this manifesto contained only empty words, whilst George had on his side troops and cannon.

Marshal Belleisle more than once took notice to me of a remarkable passage in this manifesto. Prince Edward there owns that the house of Stuart lost the English throne in some measure by its own fault, and promises amendment. *If, says he, the complaints formerly brought against our family did take their rise from some errors in our administration; it has sufficiently expiated them.*

—Young Edward took possession of the kingdoms

of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, in his father's name, declaring himself regent. For England well and good; but thus to make a king of France, was too hasty. Those titles, however, resting on no surer grounds than the possession, as quickly disappeared.

At this time France endeavoured to keep the Dutch neuter; both courts published manifestoes, and the ministers negociated: but this project of neutrality produced only a fresh paper war. The Abbe de la Ville presented memorials drawn up with great pomp and accuracy of stile, and he was answered with an elegant conciseness; but fighting still went on.

The face of affairs in Germany had changed; the King of Prussia acknowledged the Great Duke of Tuscany Emperor, and made his peace with the house of Austria. I have often heard a smart saying of Marshal Belleisle on this head. *I very well knew, said he, that this man, who is so fond of war, would incline to peace on the first opportunity to his advantage.*

M. Soubise more than once said to me, *That Monarch would have owned the Pope for Emperor, had any Sovereign in Germany given him only a hundred square acres of land.* This peace was so far advantageous to France, as it diminished the power of the house of Austria. Apparently Italy alone would be the sufferer, as it was to be supposed that the Queen of Hungary, being quite at leisure in Germany, would be for fighting on the other side the Alps. She sent reinforcements to the Low Countries, which, however, could not hinder Marshal Saxe from taking Brussels. It was then that Lewis XV. to compleat the conquest of Austrian

Austrian Flanders, set out to command the army in person.

Our progresses were very rapid; the King's presence, and the soldiers confidence in Marshal Saxe's abilities, made every thing easy. It was otherwise with the Pretender in Scotland, who fled before the enemy, and at length lost a decisive battle against the Duke of Cumberland.

In these circumstances it was that M. d'Argenson wrote, though indirectly, to the English government, in favour of young Edward. A man of wit has since shewed me how extremely ridiculous this was; for had there been a design that Edward should not out-live his temerity, a better method could not have been invented for having him made away with.

That minister represented him to the court as a relation of the King's, for whose person and qualities this Monarch had the highest value. He insisted that King George was a Prince of too much equity, not to perceive the Pretender's son's merit. This manifesto afterwards told the English, that they ought to admire him for those qualities of an eminent patriot, which so conspicuously shone in him. It then proceeded to the dangerous consequences which might result to England, from any severe treatment to young Edward, &c. They did not see that this declaration must have produced a quite contrary effect to that proposed. The Pretender's crime was not his coming over to Scotland, but in being France's ally. Consistent people said, either Prince Edward is a rebel, or King George is an usurper; and Sovereigns should not countenance rebels, nor solicit usurpers.

The

The invention of this intercessory letter is fathered on a Cardinal, who being a member of the sacred college, was for securing the Pretender's retreat; whereas it was the very way to obstruct it. Accordingly England, making no account of this manifest, set a price on his head, and some Lords who had taken up arms for him, were publicly beheaded.

Whilst all the Princes of Europe were at war together, their ministers were repairing to Breda, to negotiate a peace. This necessarily increased the business of cabinets, having both military and pacific operations on the carpet. The dearth of ministers still continued in France; none could be found capable of healing the public misfortunes. M. d'Argenson, who had the foreign affairs, only increased the confusion. They were committed to M. de Puyzieux, who was then at Breda, where he was ordered to feign great zeal and assiduity in bring about a definitive treaty; this was only a feint, he was in reality employed at Versailles. On his nomination, he said to the King, *Sire, I will do all I can, but I beg your Majesty to believe that I cannot work miracles.*

Marshal Saxe humorously said, *None but a saint or a devil can set the French administration right.* This gave occasion to a courtier afterwards to say, that we must be without friends, both in hell and heaven; this so much wanted saint or devil having not yet made his appearance in France.

Marshal Belleisle, having driven the Austrians out of Provence, returned to Versailles, to give the King an account of his operations. He had a strange passion for signal projects; and he proposed several to his Majesty, the least of which

was

was to deliver Genoa, to make Spain mistress of the greater part of Italy, and strip the King of Sardinia of all his dominions, &c.

He was sent again to Provence, where the sum of his exploits amounted only to the taking of the small castle of Saint Margaret's island. A man of genius was lately saying to me, that if good chimerical projects, and imaginary plans, made a man great, M. Belleisle was indisputably the greatest man in Europe.

In the mean time Holland, having created a Stadtholder, determined on the continuance of the war. I saw that Lewis XV. was manifestly affected with this news, whether from a concern for his people, or that the elevation of the Prince of Orange disconcerted his projects. He said in my presence to a courtier, *These Dutchmen are terrible folks; I wish their republic was a thousand leagues from any of my frontiers; it gives me more trouble than all the rest of Europe put together.*

France having now no hopes of bringing the United Provinces to a neutrality, thought of invading them; and politicians said, that it was the only way left to restore the balance in Europe, which had been lost by the continual advantages of the English at sea.

Effectual measures were taken for the invasion. The King won the battle of Lafeldt. At the same time it was determined to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom. This expedition was committed to count Lowendahl, who merrily promised to make a present of it to the King on St. Lewis's day. Bergen-op-Zoom was taken, which threw the Dutch into the greatest consternation, as they
had

had all imagined the carrying of that place to be an impossibility. This event shewed, that in war there is no such thing as certainty, its operations being ever subject to the caprice and inconstancy of fortune.

The congress at Breda was removed to Aix-la-Chapelle; but the courts still continued planning sieges and battles. Whilst the plenipotentiaries were settling the preliminaries, the levies for fresh troops went on with all possible vigour, and France prepared for war more than ever; but the difficulty was to procure soldiers. It has been affirmed to me, that there were large country-towns in France, which could not furnish so much as one militia-man; so that it became necessary to make the married men carry arms, though this was hurting posterity. All manner of taxes and imposts were also contrived to supply the want of money. M. Machault, comptroller-general, who had succeeded M. Orry, proposed expedients, but all of a very destructive tendency. The parliament clamoured, and openly declared in its representations, that if all the edicts concerning the finances took place, as proposed, the kingdom was undone; but it received for answer, that great evils required great remedies; and this silenced it.

At length a way being opened into Holland, by the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, and Marshal Saxe threatening to put an end to the republic; on the other hand, the southern provinces of France being reduced to a starving condition; this, with other circumstances, disposed the several powers to sign preliminaries of peace, which was soon followed by a definitive treaty.

treaty. Such a situation of things promoted the public tranquillity more than all the studied harangues of the plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle.

I had the treaty read to me at Versailles; all the articles appeared very suitable to the present state of Europe, except that of Canada. It seemed to me that the appointing commissioners to settle that great affair, would only perplex it the more. I spoke of it to Marshal Belleisle, who told me that article was a state secret: we could have given it another turn, but this is best for us; it leaves things in America as they are, and we have twenty savage nations in Canada who will revenge our loss. This revenge some years after cost us the game.

The Prince de Soubise told me some time after, that this peace had been a child of necessity; that there was not one of all the signing Princes, who could not have wished that the war had continued. Yet I can take upon me to say, that the King of France was of a different mind. He was visibly more gay than usual, and the great joy of his heart displayed itself in his countenance.

Thus at length the public calamities were suspended. Genoa, which under the Duke de Richlieu had continued to defend itself against the Germans, grounded its arms. The Spaniards and French, after being in continual action to settle Don Philip in Italy, discontinued their operations; and it was agreed that every thing should remain quiet till the publication of the definitive treaty. I longed for it more
than

than any minister in Europe. The King had no quiet ; the concerns of his crown and personal glory kept him in Flanders, and took up all his thoughts, never returning to Versailles till the campaign was quite over. My private satisfaction I could have willingly sacrificed to the happiness of the state, but sieges and battles only encreased the public distresses.

New lotteries and new taxes were established to raise the means for signing the peace ; thus the public ease began with draining them to the last drop.

The Pretender's son, who seemed quite forgotten, now makes his appearance again. Concluding, as he well might, that nobody would think of him at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle ; he began by protesting against every thing which should be done there. So little regard was paid to the manifesto which he caused to be set up, that all parties signed without minding his protestations. To this opposition he added another still more extravagant at Paris, refusing to comply even with the King's express orders.

One of the first articles laid down between England and France, had been, that the Chevalier de St. George's son should quit the kingdom. Lewis XV. several times signified to him the indispensable necessity he was under of adhering to the agreement. Prince Edward plainly told those who first mentioned the King's pleasure to him, that he would not comply. I have often heard the excuse he gave for this refractoriness. *The King of France, said he, promised me that I should always find an asylum in*

in his dominions ; for this I have his sign manual in my pocket. A Prince who has a sense of honour, knows what obligations his word lays him under, and how greatly he exposes himself in violating it.

He treated with the King of France as with a private gentleman. He forgot that Sovereigns may fail in their word, without any breach in their honour, the good of their people so requiring. The Pretender's son was taken into custody, as he was going to the opera. Strange reverse of fortune ! On his arrival in France, he had been received with great joy, and marks of consideration. I was something concerned for this young Prince's fate, and dropped a word or two about him to the King, who answered me with some heat, *What would you have me do, Madam ? Should I continue the war with all Europe for Prince Edward ? England will not allow him to be in my dominions ; it was only on this condition, that she came into the peace. Should I have broke off the conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, and distressed my people more and more, because the Pretender's son is for living at Paris ?*

It must be owned that this Prince shewed an obstinacy beyond example. The King sent all Paris to represent to him the state of affairs, and express the concern it gave him, that he was obliged to remove him from his court. Though these messages were delivered to him in the King's name, his answers were so many menaces. The Count de Maurepas spoke to him on this occasion, in the following words :

“ It is with the greatest grief that the King
“ fees

“ sees himself obliged to desire your Highness
 “ to quit his dominions. I come in his name
 “ to assure you that no other consideration than
 “ the welfare of his subjects would have pre-
 “ vailed on him to take this step. You would
 “ have seen him inflexibly supporting your
 “ claim, had not the unhappy turn of the
 “ war laid him under a necessity of yielding to
 “ the present juncture. The greatest Monarchs
 “ cannot always do as they would. There are
 “ critical seasons where policy requires them
 “ to be pliant. Your Highness knows that;
 “ since the unhappy time when the Stuart
 “ family lost the crown of England, the
 “ Bourbon family has made several efforts for
 “ their restoration. You ought to take his
 “ intentions kindly, rather than blame his in-
 “ ability. I wish you had been witness to his
 “ conversation with me, when he called me
 “ into his closet to give me his orders, by which
 “ I was to signify to you his desire that you will
 “ quit the kingdom; it must have affected you.
 “ He sincerely laments your situation, but he
 “ cannot turn the tide of fate; and should you
 “ force him to take violent measures, it would
 “ give him the deepest concern.

“ Lewis XV. has sent me to you, not as a
 “ King, not as a master, but as an ally, and as a
 “ friend; and, what is more, he directed me to
 “ ask it of you as a favour, that you would leave
 “ his dominions.”

Prince Edward was very laconic in his answer,
 drawing a pistol out of his pocket, and vowing
 to shoot the first man that should offer to lay hands
 on him. The archbishop of Paris likewise con-
 jured

jured him in the name of God and the Pope, but with no greater effect; religion had no more weight with him than politics, so that the extremity which the King would have avoided, became necessary. The Chevalier de St. George's son was arrested as he was going to the opera.

The enemies of France failed not to exclaim against this violence, exaggerating it with the most odious appellations.

On searching his house, it was found turned into an Arsenal. He had arms enough to stand a siege in form. It was talked at court that he had determined to fight singly himself against a whole regiment, and then set fire to a barrel of powder, which communicated with others, and thus blow up himself, with all that belonged to him. The King, on being told this, said, "A very ill-timed bravery, indeed!"

The peace, however, spread an universal joy through all ranks. There were only two men in the kingdom who were not satisfied with it, the Marshals Saxe and Lowendahl. The former expressed his discontent to the secretary of war in this manner: "After the battle of Fontenoy, said he, we were in a fair way of making ourselves masters of Holland, and putting an end to that troublesome republic; for these merchants, with their shipping and their wealth, are the mischief-makers of Europe; they are the necessary allies of our natural enemies the English. The great work of their destruction was nearly finished; why did we not go through with it? If we again give the republicans time to fortify themselves, they will be as daring as before; and the time may come when France
" with

“ with all its forces will not be able to bring them
 “ to reason. Destroying Holland is cutting off
 “ England’s right arm ; and every body knows,
 “ that all France’s policy should center in weak-
 “ ening Great-Britain.

“ Of what consequence has the victory of Fon-
 “ tenoy been ? What is France the better for the
 “ taking of Bergen-op-Zoom ? All those efforts
 “ of courage, all the lives of so many gallant
 “ officers who fell in Flanders, were purely
 “ thrown away. If these places were to be re-
 “ stored, and the Dutch and the house of Austria
 “ to be put on the same footing as each of them
 “ was before the war, it had been much better
 “ there had been no war at all. France’s giving
 “ back its conquests, was making war against her-
 “ self ; her very victories have ruined her ; her
 “ enemies have retained all their former strength,
 “ whilst she alone has weakened herself. Her
 “ subjects are fewer by a million, and her finances
 “ reduced to little or nothing.”

These speeches reaching the King’s ears, he
 said, “ I understand the language of those genera-
 “ lissimos ; they are for ever dwelling on red-hot
 “ bullets.”

The count de St. Severin d’ Arragon, who had
 made the peace, undertook to demonstrate the
 fallacy of such reasonings ; and the King has often
 repeated to me his arguments. “ Sire, said he,
 “ the conquest of Holland made no part of the
 “ plan of this war. All France aimed at, was to
 “ keep the Dutch from declaring. The end of
 “ our many sieges and battles, was not to destroy
 “ their republic, but only to bring it to pacific
 “ terms ; so that in forcing them to lay aside
 “ their

“ their arms, the council of state’s view is fully
“ answered.

“ Your Generals will have it, that after the
“ battle of Fontenoy, and the taking of Bergen-
“ op-Zoom, the United Provinces might easily
“ have been over-run, and the States-General
“ have been brought under the dominion of
“ France. They are mistaken ; the weapons of
“ despair are invincible. To compel a people to
“ the necessity of being conquered, is the ready
“ way to lose a conquest. The sovereignties once
“ settled, are no longer subject to destruction ;
“ they are reciprocal counterpoises ; should only
“ one fall under the power of another, the whole
“ balance of Europe would be destroyed. It is
“ long since war has afforded any of those decisive
“ blows, which, in the time of the Romans,
“ changed the face of the political world. A pro-
“ vince may be mastered, but the invading of
“ kingdoms is out of date.

“ Granting, Sir, that the ardour of your
“ troops, breaking through the common ways,
“ had reduced Holland, it would have been a
“ conquest not only useless, but have thrown
“ France into fresh troubles ; all Europe, in a
“ body, would have declared war against you.
“ The great powers, jealous of the house of
“ Bourbon, have long been watching an opportu-
“ nity of giving it a decisive blow.

“ Right policy, instead of making a noise, silent-
“ ly takes a bye-way to its ends ; let us insensibly
“ weaken the Dutch, but never think of destroy-
“ ing them. They are a barrier against the great
“ northern powers. They secure us from the
“ incursions of the Germans, whom the Romans
“ them-

“ themselves could not check, and who at last
 “ overthrew the empire of the Cæsars.

“ But a great deal is said about the easiness of
 “ our conquering, and not a word how easy it
 “ was to conquer us. What induced me, Sire,
 “ to put the finishing hand to the great work of
 “ the peace, is the disorder of the finances, the
 “ depopulation of the state, and the scarcity of
 “ provisions.

“ The Comptroller-general has acquainted me
 “ that he knows not where to find any more mo-
 “ ney. The intendants of the provinces have
 “ wrote to the war-office, that it is utterly im-
 “ possible to raise another militia; to which the
 “ intendant of Guienne adds, that in his province
 “ the people are starving; those, Sire, were my
 “ motives for hastening the conclusion of the
 “ peace.”

These reasons, however, did not prevail with
 the great men of the army, who still wanted to be
 fighting. They were big with hopes, which
 the peace seemed to quash. I remember Lewis
 XV. one day talking on this subject, said to
 me, *that he had not a general officer in his*
troops who cared what became of the state, if
he could but get a Marshal's staff,

The King, who had rewarded Marshal
 Saxe, did not forget the Count St. Severin,
 making him a minister of state. This Count,
 though not a great genius, had good rational
 sense, which he made to answer as well as a
 superior understanding. He was slow in business,
 but sure; and his phlegmatic disposition was
 better adapted to surmount those difficulties,
 which ever put fervid and eager minds to a
 full

full stand. He was a stranger to agitations; his passions moved in subordination to political laws. Resentment, anger, sallies of passion, spirit of party, with all the other prepossessing foibles which ruled most ministers, were never seen in him. Those he used to call the reverse of the medal of plenipotenziaries. In a negociation he moved straight on to his drift, without stopping by the way. He had a natural love for peace, and thus the more cheerfully applied himself to forward a definitive treaty.

M. de Belleisle told me, that he found one great fault in him, which was the want of a proper regard to military men, however illustrious by their rank or merit; for after all, added he, there is no making a good peace but by dint of victories; and it is the general, and not the plenipotenziary, who gains battles.

France however was quite spent; the means made use of for supporting the war had been so violent as to break all the springs of power. The ministers complained greatly of the state of France, and openly said, at the peace, that they did not know where to begin the administration.

Paris is not the place where the general distress most manifests itself. The luxury, such as it is, prevailing there conceals the public indigence. There poverty itself appears in embroidery and ribbons, whilst in all the other parts of France it goes quite bare. The court had written into the provinces for a report of the state of things. M. de Belleisle has shewn me

me several memoirs of those times, transmitted to Versailles by the intendants of the provinces. The tenour of the first was this :

“ MY LORD,

“ You ask me for a state of the finances in
 “ this province ; that is soon done ; there are
 “ none. I don’t believe that the whole pro-
 “ vince could produce a hundred thousand livres
 “ in specie: the poverty is so general, that all
 “ distinction of ranks is at an end. The louis
 “ d’ors are like to become scarce pieces, so
 “ as soon to be seen only in the cabinets of
 “ the curious.”

The other is from the intendant of a province naturally very fertile, but which could not be cultivated for want of money. His report to the minister was as follows :

“ MY LORD,

“ There is no representing to your Excellency
 “ the present distress of this province ; the
 “ land yields little or nothing ; most of the
 “ farmers, unable to live by the produce of
 “ their farms, have quitted them ; some are
 “ gone a begging, others have listd in the
 “ army, and not a few have escaped into fo-
 “ reign countries ; the gentry and nobility are
 “ little better off, being put to the utmost
 “ difficulty to answer the taxes and impositions
 “ on them.

“ Of

“ Of fifteen hundred thousand acres of arable
 “ land, which used to support this people; at pre-
 “ sent six hundred lie fallow; what a diminution
 “ this must be to the general subsistence, your
 “ Excellency readily sees. A village which, be-
 “ fore the war, supported fifteen hundred inhabi-
 “ tants, can now scarce support six hundred; and
 “ a particular family, which was able to feed six
 “ children, and as many labourers, can now pro-
 “ vide food only for five. The cattle are diminish-
 “ ed no less than the men, so as not to be suf-
 “ ficient for tillage; and in most of the villages
 “ men do the work of oxen.

“ I have traced this calamity to its source, and
 “ I find the evil proceeds from the general want
 “ of cash: to prevent the consequences of this
 “ diminution, I could wish that the court would
 “ be pleased to advance to this province, by way
 “ of loan, the sum of fifteen hundred thousand
 “ livres, to be geometrically distributed among the
 “ industrious poor. This, in my opinion, is the
 “ only remedy left to avert greater evils.”

The third of these memoirs was from another
 intendant, who paints the depopulation in these sad
 colours.

“ MY LORD,

“ The king’s subjects are daily decreasing in
 “ this province; it will soon be without inhabi-
 “ tants. Having directed the parish-priests to bring
 “ in lists of the christenings and burials, I find
 “ that the number of the dead exceeds that of the
 “ living; so that, should this depopulation go on
 “ twenty years longer, and God continues my life
 “ during that time, by my calculation, I shall be
 “ the only living creature, of the human species,
 “ in this province. Fifteen years before the last
 VOL. I. E “ revolution

“ revolution of the finances, this district contained
 “ fifteen hundred thousand souls, and now if there
 “ are nine hundred thousand, it is the most. Yet
 “ how, my Lord, can it be otherwise? Of fifty
 “ of the king’s subjects, scarce two have any
 “ thing of a subsistence; the others must neces-
 “ sarily perish. A marriage is seldom heard of;
 “ so that all the new-born children are the fruits
 “ of debauchery.

“ I cannot point out any remedy to these dis-
 “ tresses. In the present crisis of the monarchy,
 “ it is God alone who can rescue it out of the
 “ abyss into which the misfortunes of the times
 “ have cast it.”

The fourth was from a sea-port, whose deputy
 thus delivered himself before the ministry.

“ Trade, which had been declining for several
 “ years, is now fallen into a total stagnation. Our
 “ ships lie in the harbours, useless both to the
 “ state and their owners. We have little or no-
 “ thing for exportation; the produce of the coun-
 “ try scarce affords a very scanty subsistence; and
 “ our manufactures are at the lowest ebb. All
 “ our trade is in the hands of the English and
 “ Dutch.

“ Most of our monied men, who fitted out pri-
 “ vateers, have been ruined by the war; others
 “ so reduced, that instead of ten ships, which they
 “ used to have at sea, they find it difficult to have
 “ one: both seas are covered with foreign fleets,
 “ so that the white flag begins to be forgotten.

“ All other nations are carriers to France,
 “ whereas France carries for none. This general
 “ stagnation animates others, and throws our ma-
 “ rine into a fatal lethargy, &c. &c. &c.”

The navy has been utterly ruined, all the ships
 being taken by the English, except a few unser-
 viceable ones in the harbours; and the funds ap-
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pointed for fitting out a fleet are exhausted; but had there been no want of money, seamen were wanting; most of them had died in English prisons, and they who escaped the enemy perished by distresses. It was impossible for France, being thinned of men, to furnish seamen.

M. Belleisle, who interfered in every branch of government, said one day to the King, in my hearing, *Sire, should all the powers of Europe declare war against you, I engage to raise in your dominions a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, who should keep them all at bay; but were I to fight an English fleet of a hundred ships of the line, where I should get twenty thousand seamen, I know not.*

Another misfortune, beyond any remedy, was the necessary reduction of the troops. A hundred and fifty thousand subjects, who had fought for the crown, at the peace came to want bread: most of them, though they had been husbandmen before the war, were now no longer so. I have several times heard the Marshall de Noailles say, that a countryman, leaving the plough for the musket, is very seldom known to take to it when discharged; and he used to add, that on a hundred thousand husbandmen quitting their labour, a hundred thousand others must labour to provide them bread, otherwise a famine, and the ruin of the state, must be the consequence.

Some regulations were made to prevent the disorders to be apprehended from these reduced troops; but the remedy was more dangerous than the disease.

Of all the incumbrances, that of the military rewards were the greatest; money was required to pay the bravery of the officers in ready cash, for the military gentlemen are most impatient creditors. Formerly a St. Lewis's cross sufficed, but

it has since appeared to the officers, that a yearly sum gives a greater lustre to gallant actions.

Above ten thousand different pensions were settled on the Exchequer. A churchman who, at my desire, used sometimes to read to me the memorials on this head delivered to me for the king, would often say, that the glory accompanying fine actions must be of very little value in France, as the gentlemen of the army would not take it for a reward. The archbishop of Paris likewise used to say, that victories cost the state more than defeats.

The claimants would set forth their services with an arrogant modesty, which gave great offence to the court; especially they who had lost a limb were quite insupportable. One of these gentlemen (it was indeed after several journies to court to obtain a pension) said to me before several foreign ministers, *Madam, since the King cannot give me an arm, which I have lost in his service, he should at least give me money.*

Once an officer being come express with the news of the loss of a battle in Germany, the king said, *Thank God, this time I shan't be teaz'd about rewards.* He was mistaken; for fifteen hundred officers, who had escaped the slaughter, came to Versailles, clamouring to be paid only for the great service of their being present at that action.

A lieutenant of grenadiers, to whom the secretary at war had procured a Saint Lewis's cross without a pension, said to him, *Sir, your Excellency has tied to my button-hole the sign of my courage, but you have forgot the reality of my bravery,* meaning that he wanted a pension.

Some military men in France enjoy considerable incomes only for having been in five or six battles, whilst the subjects of the state have ruined themselves in defraying the expences of the war. Thus do abuses creep into the best foundations.

After

After settling the pensions, the next thing taken in hand was to retrieve the finances from the terrible disorder into which they were fallen. They who understood the history of France affirmed, that for twenty reigns past the kingdom had never been so distressed; and the national debt being immense, a plan for the discharge of them became absolutely necessary. A sinking fund was projected, but when funds were to be appointed for the sinking-fund, those of the crown were found to be all mortgaged. I myself was a witness to his majesty's great uneasiness, when the ministers and counsellors of state laid open to him the condition of things. *Gentlemen*, said he to them, *you had better have advised me against the war, than to make it on such burthensome conditions.* Some taxes were taken off; but several imposts, created for the charges of the war, were continued after the peace, &c. &c.

Such was the situation of France after the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The domestic affairs of the crown were in no better condition. The ministers had, during the war, assumed an unlimited authority, made themselves despotic in their offices, and behaved towards the subjects with that austerity which is the result of uncontrouled power.

Whilst all Europe was congratulating itself on the general peace, advice came to Versailles that the English were very angry with George the Second, for having agreed to the French proposals. The parliament addressed him for a copy of the overtures for a general pacification, to be laid before the house.

Marshal Saxe being present when this was related to the king, said, *Sir, those Englishmen must be very quarrelsome; they have made a peace with us, and having now no enemy, they are for quarrelling.*

with their King. I have heard very knowing politicians say, that the divisions in Great Britain between the subjects and the Prince, are the basis of the general tranquillity of Europe.

However, on the peace, the face of Versailles was quite changed; that solicitous look which throws a shade even on diversions was quite vanished; the hurry of business had ceased, and the king was now come to himself. This tranquillity of the court caused a great agitation in the city; several women began to form designs on the King's heart.

Among these was one Madame la Poupeliniere, married to a financier, who had raised her from the dirt, from whence he himself likewise sprung. They had a most delightful and splendid seat at Passy, which was always crowded with the worst company.

I have been often told, that this woman would faint away whenever my name happened to be mentioned. She used to say, that I had thrust myself into her rank at court, that I held her place about the king, and that all the honours paid to me at Versailles, of right belonged to her. She would, at any rate, be Lewis the Fifteenth's mistress.

This was a scheme put into her head by the Duke de Richelieu; mean time he practised on her heart, to give it a turn for tenderness. This intrigue was carried on with an air of mystery. The Duke used, at nights, to convey himself into the lady's chamber through an opening contrived in the chimney; and this opening Richelieu assured her should, in no long time, conduct her to the little apartments at Versailles. In the interim, this creature, to make herself more worthy of the Sovereign, prostituted herself to one of his subjects; but a chamber-maid, in a fit of resentment, discovered

discovered the whole mystery. The financier, who had for some time wanted to get rid of his wife, gladly embraced this opportunity; he made the public witness to his infamy, so that all Paris flocked to see the ungrateful perfidy of this ambitious woman.

The gallant perhaps, now no less satiated than the husband, made very light of the discovery; and came to Versailles, not imagining that the court as yet knew any thing of the matter; but I had intelligence of his adventure an hour before it was made public. The King was alone in my apartment when he came in; Sir, (said I to him) *there is not in all Europe a more close agent in amorous intrigues than his Grace of Richelieu there before you; for to be the more secret with the ladies whom he would bring acquainted with your Majesty, he visits them through the chimney.* The King asked me what I meant; I immediately unfolded the riddle to him, which set us a laughing, and Richelieu himself laughed as much as any.

Other women likewise laid out for the little apartments at Versailles, and got into them without going under ground. Lewis XV. was very fond of these flighty amours, of which possession is both the beginning and end. But his humours did not in the least abate the affection with which he honoured me, always returning to me more constant than ever.

Since the peace, the Count de Maurepas took a pleasure in censuring every thing that was done at court, and giving it a ridiculous turn. This minister had his private suppers like the King himself; and here it was where, every night, the crown was turned into drollery.

Several disputes had passed between us since my living at Versailles, and in which he had used me

with much pride and haughtiness; his passion made him forget his rank, and use words quite unbecoming such a man as he. I slightly intimated it to the King, being unwilling to hurt a man who was of use to the state.

It has been given out, that my very first design on my coming to Versailles, was to supplant this minister. Now that such a thought should have come into my mind, is not possible. The King in giving me a character of his chief ministers, spoke with great approbation of the Count de Maurepas, which alone was sufficient to make me take a liking to him. But a close assiduity in dry and difficult affairs, for above thirty years successively, had extremely soured his temper, so that at times no body durst go near him. M. le Guai, his first clerk, told me, that in those moments he was bristled like a porcupine; his harshness infected his correspondence, scolding those who were a thousand leagues from him, and treating them without any regard to their rank and character. He wrote to the French consul, at one of the Levant ports, in the following manner :

“ I order you, Sir, to write to me no more,
 “ but repair to France in the first ship; and come
 “ to Paris, where you are to wait my orders,
 “ without appearing at court. I am. &c.”

His caustic temper mingled itself even with his feasts, and would break out even in the midst of pleasure and sociality. It was in these parties that he was most fluent and licentious in satire. I was one day informed, that he had spoken against me in very indecent terms, and had even brought in the King. I at first determined flatly to complain to his Majesty, but on reflection I chose to write to himself.

“ Sir,

“ Sir, I am informed of your scandalous speeches concerning me, and even the King your master. As for what you say of me, it gives me no manner of concern; but I cannot overlook any scurrility on the King. I value his reputation; and be assured, that if you do not alter your behaviour toward him, I shall lay it before him, and you must expect the punishment which such an offence deserves. I am, &c.”

All the effect of this letter was, that it increased his malignity towards me, saying to those who were at supper with him; *Now, Gentlemen, my disgrace is surely at hand, Pompadour threatens me*: then, reassuming his gravity, he added, by way of reflection, *See what Versailles is come to; the very women of pleasure pretend to domineer there*. These words were precisely reported to me; however, I took no notice of them; but some time after, this minister, amidst his cups, sang some scandalous couplets against the King himself, and before a great deal of company. Of this insolence I informed his Majesty, and he was ordered to quit the court.

His exile making a great noise in the world, and a construction being put on it which affected his probity and character, I begged of the King to declare in public, that he was satisfied with his conduct. His Majesty did so; and let this serve as a specimen of his temper; a prince, after being insolently ridiculed by a subject who owed him great obligations, still vouchsafed to shew tenderness for him.

The government was at a loss for a person fit to succeed M. Maurepas at the head of the marine, as now it was become a state mystery. It had been under Maurepas's sole management during

thirty years. M. Rouillé was pitched on, though no great genius; but he had formed specious plans, and assured the King that within three years he should have a navy of fourscore ships of the line. *I wish*, said the King, *he may make his words good, but I much fear he will fall very short.*

Italy was perfectly at ease; the infant Don Philip had made his entrance into Parma: we heard at Versailles that he lived very gaily there amid concerts, plays, and balls. *I am afraid*, said the King, *that young Prince is too fond of balls, and my daughter will be perpetually dancing.*

M. de Noailles used to say, that every country dance of Don Philip, in Italy, cost Spain a hundred thousand livres; and his mother had paid the fiddlers before-hand.

The Duke of Modena was restored to his dominions, and had all Don Philip's passion for splendour and entertainments; but the war had ruined him: the Duchess used to say openly, in the palace, *his Highness has not wherewith to make one single minuet step.* She came to court without shoes, to shew the King the indigence to which the war had reduced their duchy. *Madam*, said his Majesty to her, *I am not in a much better condition myself; but I have a shoe-maker, who, if you please, shall wait on you.*

Genoa was free, subject only to its own government, now re-established on its ancient footing. The ambassador from the court of Vienna, meeting that senate's envoy in the great gallery of Versailles, said to him; *Sir, the house of Austria forgives your republic its revolution, only intends to be up with it.*

Rome was at rest, the foreign armies which, during the war, had been such a burden and terror to it, being withdrawn.

Naples,

Naples, now no longer under a necessity of exhausting itself of men and money, was beginning to recover: all it stood in need of, was only quiet enjoyment of its fertile soil and climate. Concerning this small state, I remember a foreign minister once said to me, that *if ever he had been so ambitious as to aim at a sovereignty, it would not be that of Germany, France, or Spain, but to be King of Naples.* His reason was, that *there the power was derived directly from heaven; and is the immediate gift of God the Father himself.*

The nobility still complained at court of having greatly hurt their fortunes in the war, and were continually soliciting compensations and rewards.

The Prince of Conti, lately created Grand Prior of France, said openly, that his horses had no hay. *I wonder,* said Marshal Belleisle, *they are not yet dead, for so long ago as when we were at Coni, his Highness used to complain of the scarcity of forage.*

Lewis XV. did all he could to repair the fortunes of the great by posts, pensions, or governments; but he had a greater concern on his hands, which was to repair that of the nation.

I remember once he mildly said to some, who were unbecomingly urgent, that he would take care of them; *Have a little patience, I will provide for all as far as possible; but before I attend to private houses, the great family of the state must be provided for.* Another time he said, before the whole court, to a groupe of officers who talked much of their campaigns, and asked rewards: *Gentlemen, you have indeed done me great services in the war, but it is my desire you will do me still a greater in peace, which is to allow me first to ease those who have borne the whole weight of the war. You only lent a hand, but they have exhausted their whole substance in it, &c. &c.*

Marshal

Marshal Belleisle was not overlooked; besides pensions, ranks, and honours heaped on him, all the bodies of the state, as it were, strove which should pay him the greatest marks of respect. The French Academy itself, on his leaving Paris to go to his government, composed a formal harangue, proving him the deliverer of France. A man of wit has called the members of the French academy *the most elegant liars in Europe*.

The new naval minister was busily searching for timber, seamen, and money, all over the provinces; but he looked for what was not to be found. On his return to Versailles appeared the following memorial by an unknown hand.

MEMORIAL on the MARINE.

“ FRANCE should not think of forming a navy gradually; such a plan is impracticable; for the English, who have an eye to the building of every ship we put on the stocks, and build additional ships in proportion, thereby always secure a superiority.

“ Thus Great Britain having, at present, a hundred ships of the line more than France, will consequently always exceed us by that number, were we to build three hundred ships of war within ten years.

“ We have often set about forming a navy, but our endeavours have always been defeated by the Britons. They have taken our ships in times of profound peace, and declared themselves our enemies by sea, before any war had commenced; their vigilance in preventing any thing which might affect the superiority of their navy, pays no regard to justice or good faith. A King of England would be immediately de-throned by his subjects, should he be for ad-
hering

“ hering to the treaties made with France. It
 “ is a tacit maxim with that nation, that a trea-
 “ ty is to subsist only whilst France builds no
 ships.

“ Time, which to all other disorders of govern-
 “ ment brings a remedy, here renders the disease
 “ incurable: building therefore is too slow a way;
 “ they know at London the very day when a-
 “ ny ship of war is finished, and when to be
 “ launched.

“ This part of political strength must be form-
 “ ed at once, and unknown to the admiralty of
 “ England. We should without delay apply to
 “ Holland, Denmark, the republic of Genoa, and
 “ Venice; and there, at once, purchase a proper
 “ number of ships; and if those states cannot ful-
 “ ly supply us, there is Malta, Algiers, Tripoli,
 “ Constantinople, &c. No matter from what na-
 “ tion we have ships, or how they are built, if
 “ they will but hold men and guns.

“ Herein the strictest secrecy must be observed,
 “ and the purchases all punctually made at one
 “ and the same appointed time; for should the
 “ English get any intelligence of our design,
 “ they would either by open force, or negotia-
 “ tion, prevent any such purchase.

“ The want of seamen still remains; but here
 “ again we may supply ourselves by the same me-
 “ thod. In time of peace, the Maritime powers
 “ have a great many more seamen than they want;
 “ it is only making good offers to those men;
 “ for the sailor, like the soldier, is for the best
 “ bidder; his natural Prince is money, &c. &c.”

M. Rouillé, on reading this memorial, said
*The author has forgot the main thing, money. He
 would have us purchase a navy all at once, but does
 not provide wherewith to pay for it at once.*

A statesman has often observed, that most of the projects offered at the court of France are deficient in the very foundation. The schemer writes on in prosecution of his notions, till meeting a rock, when all his specious reasonings are wrecked.

M. de Belleisle told me that, in his closet, he had hundreds of memoirs for increasing the revenue and the national wealth, inscribed to him by the finest genius's of the kingdom; and that he might perhaps publish them with this title, *A collection of very fine, and very useless projects*. "Idle people, said he, often have thoughts which the business of placemen does not allow them to have:" and added, "that though memorial writers do not always make good their points, yet their strictures often put others on effectual improvements."

After the peace, the King had had sent the Duke de Mirepoix to London: on which Marshal Saxe said, that this nobleman, was perfectly fit for the embassy, having a very handsome leg, and dancing prettily, which might be of good consequence in a court which delighted in balls. The reasons which induced the King to this choice, have always been unknown to me. He never so much as mentioned it to me till it was done. A very intelligent man, whom the king had often employed in state affairs, said to me, at that time, "that M. de Mirepoix was neither supple nor complaisant enough for the English; neither was he sufficiently acquainted with the respective interests of the two nations: besides, continued he, he has a great defect for an ambassador, he is too honest, so that the English will impose on him." He might perhaps have added, with equal truth, that he had not a capacity equal to that employment. M. de Mirepoix had spent his youth in di-

versions,

versions, and the latter part of his life in war; now the science of negotiation is not learnt either at the play-house or in the camp.

This minister's constant note was, that the court of St. James's was perfectly pleased with the peace, and all its thoughts turned on the enjoyment of it. He indeed wrote no more than he believed; for George the Second made him believe whatever he pleased.

The English minister at Paris was my Lord Albemarle, like ours, no great negociator. He had been taught his lesson by heart before he left London, and when at Versailles only repeated it. On any representation of the court of France being informed that the British court was making military preparations, he answered, that it was a mistake. This M. de Puyfieux was continually saying to him, and his answer was ever the same. English policy is much more easy than the French, having but one path; so that when once a British minister has got into it, he need but go straight on.

I saw this minister sometimes; he spoke our language better than common, and expressed himself even with energy. He loved expence, and lived nobleman-like; but he appeared to me to have one fault, though indeed it is common to all the English; his very prodigalities had something of parsimony in them. George the Second, who had a great kindness for him, supplied his expences; for tho' he lived so high, he was very poor: an Englishman, who had known him at London, speaking of his arrival at Paris, said, "My Lord will get a mistress there, run in debt, and die by some accident." The prophecy was fully accomplished: He lived with a girl, borrowed large sums, and died suddenly.

Lewis XV.

Lewis XV. was more constantly with me than ever; I had brought him to a custom of seeing me every day, and never spending less than five or six hours in my apartment: I accompanied him in all the journies, and had my apartments in all the royal seats. The more I became acquainted with his Majesty, the more I perceived the exceeding goodness of his heart.

My husband loudly complained of my living at Versailles, and wrote to me a very passionate letter, full of reproaches against me, and still more against the King; amidst other indiscreet terms, calling him tyrant. As I was reading this letter, the king came into my apartment; I immediately thrust it into my pocket; the emotion with which I received his Majesty, shewed me to be under some disorder; I was for concealing the cause, but on his repeated instances, I put my husband's letter into his hands. He read it through without the least sign of resentment; I assured him that I had no share in his temerity; and the better to convince him of it, desired that he would punish the writer severely. *No, Madam*, said he to me, with that air of goodness which is so natural to him, *your husband is unhappy, and should rather be pitied*. History does not afford a like passage of moderation in an injured King. My spouse, on being informed of it, left the kingdom to travel.

Though the peace had diffused quite through Europe, it caused violent agitations in the political bodies of France. The parliament of Paris, amidst its many remonstrances to Lewis XV. exhorted him in a very fine speech, to take off the *twentieth denier*. The deputies of that body expressed themselves in this manner.

So many millions of men now in indigence, stand in need of immediate ease and relief; whereas, should they be still obliged to pay the twentieth denier, they will be quite unable to lift up their heads again, and repair their shattered fortune, and hence a general despondency.

Whole families will be reduced to the most dreadful distress, and thus be afraid of leaving behind them a numerous issue, which would be a burden to them whilst living, and to whom they can transmit no other inheritance than their wretchedness.

The number of children, who are the hope and support of the state, will be continually decreasing, the villages will be thinned, trade languish, and the culture of land in a great measure at a stand. The ruin of the farmers will necessarily be followed by that of the nobility, as their estates will suffer a very considerable diminution; and thus these people, and that brave nobility, whose valour is their sole and chief resource, will be involved in one common ruin.

Count Saxe used to call the deputies of the parliament the great-chamber pedants. *They are for teaching the administration, says he, what it knows better than themselves. They are always harping on the distempers of the state, without any word of a remedy. Once, as the first president was delivering a pathetic harangue before the King, proving the necessity of lessening the weight of the taxes, his Majesty cut him short with these words: Mr. President, let but the parliament enable me to pay off the state debts, and defray the present expences of the Monarchy, and very readily will I abolish every tax, duty, and impost.*

A man of wit, and who knows the French temper, used to say, that these useless representations were become necessary, as keeping up the people's spirits,

spirits, who, without a declared Protector, would think themselves for ever undone.

In Cardinal de Fleury's indolent ministry, and the subsequent wars, the government had not been able to take into consideration an abuse which manifestly tended to dispeople the monarchy. Religion, in all wise governments, a source of population, was thinning the human species. All France was mouldering away in convents: every town and village had numerous communities of girls, who made vows against having children. The following letter, which I received from a nun at Lyons, and communicated to the King, occasioned deliberations for reforming this abuse.

" MADAM,

" I was at first for writing to the pope, but,
 " on farther reflection, I thought it would be full
 " as well to apply to you. The point is this;
 " when I was but seven years of age, my parents
 " shut me up in the convent where I now am;
 " and on my entering into my fifteenth year, two
 " nuns signified to me an order to take the veil.
 " I deferred complying for some time; for though
 " quite a stranger to every thing but the house
 " I was in, yet I suspected there must be another
 " kind of world than the convent, and another
 " state than that of a nun; but the sister of
 " *Jesus's heart*, our mother, in order to fix my
 " call, said to me, that all women who married
 " were damned, because they lie with a man,
 " and bore children: this set me a-crying most
 " bitterly for my poor mother, as burning eternally
 " in hell for having brought me into the
 " world.

" I took the veil; but now that I am twenty
 " years of age, and my constitution formed, I
 " daily feel that I am not made for this state,
 " and

“ and think I want something; and that something, or I am much mistaken, is a husband.

“ My talking continually of matrimony sets the community a-madding; the sister of the *Holy Ghost* tells me, that I am Jesus Christ's spouse; but, for my part, I feel myself much inclined to a second marriage with a man.

“ On a young girl's coming into a convent, half a dozen wheedlers get about her, and never leave her till they have persuaded her to take the veil. Children are buried every day in monasteries, whilst their early age does not admit of any solid reflections on the vows they are drawn to make.

“ Let me intreat you, Madam, to persuade the King to reform this abuse; it is a reformation which both religion and the prosperity of the state call for. The sacrificing so many victims to the avarice of parents, is a great loss of people to the state, and the kingdom of heaven is not the fuller. God requires voluntary sacrifices, and these are the fruit of reflection. It is surprising, that the laws, in settling the age for our sex's passing a civil contract, should forget the age for making vows; is reason less necessary for contracting with God, than with men? This I submit to yours and his Majesty's reflections: in the mean time, give me leave to be,

Madam,

Your most humble servant,

Sister JOSEPH.”

The King thought that sister *Jesus's heart*, and sister *Holy Ghost*, had done wrong in drawing sister Joseph into the state of celibacy, as with such happy dispositions for marriage, she bid fair to have

have been a fruitful mother, and thus have benefited the state.

To suppress the aforesaid abuse, his Majesty issued an arret, forbidding all religious communities to admit a novice under twenty-four years of age and a day.

Other bodies, besides the parliament, continued setting forth to the court the impossibility the people were under of paying the *twentieth denier*. The states of Languedoc, with a peremptory kind of humility, represented that it was a load the province could by no means bear: the bishops, who usually employ their pens only in mandates, now wrote memorials on the public distress. The King ordered them not to meddle with money matters, and dissolved the assembly. The Duke de Richelieu, who was then at Montpellier, seconded the court's injunctions, and restrained the bishops pens as much as he could.

On being thus debarred from writing or meeting, they appointed an extraordinary deputation to lay before the King the condition of the kingdom. They were admitted to audience; they made their speech, returned home, and the *twentieth denier* was levied.

A minister of state used frequently to say, that these representations only increased the public charges. Were the provinces to pay at first, they would save themselves the no small expences of journies, correspondencies, and deputations, not to mention monopolies, which, on these occasions, are unavoidable.

The states of Bretagne likewise offered their difficulties; but all the effect of the representations of both was, that the court appointed two intendants of the finances to go and settle the levying of that tax on those refractory provinces.

These

These dictatorial proceedings of the states led the council to take their meetings into consideration; and, for some days, it was deliberated, whether they should not be totally laid aside. A counsellor of state, who was for the dissolution, drew up a memorial, which the King was pleased to communicate to me. This piece having never been printed, consequently not known to the public, I shall give it a place here.

“ The provincial states are of no use to France ;
 “ such assemblies might have been necessary in
 “ those times, when each province formed a separate kingdom ; but France being now united under one single government, can regulate its concerns sufficiently for itself, without any need of assemblies.

“ These provincial states only keep a division
 “ between the Prince and the subject, and are
 “ an obstacle to the expeditious levying and collecting of the imposts.

“ On his Majesty’s ordering a tax, however
 “ necessary it be, to defray the extraordinary
 “ expences, these states are sure to oppose it ;
 “ and immediately the court is deluged with remonstrances, and Versailles crowded with deputies : the general affairs must be delayed to
 “ issue fresh orders, and answer those sent the
 “ states, for their writings are rather orders than
 “ memorials.

“ This suspension of ordinances has other very
 “ bad effects ; the subjects, become accustomed
 “ not to obey, look on the wants of the state
 “ with the coldest indifference, and the public affairs go on heavily.

“ The members of these assemblies are like so
 “ many petty sovereigns ; their ascendancy over
 “ the minds of the people being without bounds.

“ An Archbishop of Narbonne, on his coming
 “ to

“ to Montpellier to open the states, is received
 “ with greater pomp than if Lewis XV. was to
 “ make his public entry.

“ In a monarchical state, where the whole au-
 “ thority should proceed only from one centre,
 “ it is dangerous to divide it by subordinate
 “ bodies.

“ These provincial states likewise affect morali-
 “ ty and religion; those of Languedoc consist of
 “ twenty-four bishops, or archbishops, who thus
 “ are absent from their dioceses three months out
 “ of the twelve; leaving in their stead their vi-
 “ cars, who have neither the like regard or zeal
 “ for their flock; and in this interval, a relaxa-
 “ tion in discipline and manners spreads every
 “ where.

“ The luxury of these assemblies is equally scan-
 “ dalous, every bishop there having his court and
 “ courtiers, and keeping open table. To day
 “ the bishop of Alaix has thirty covers on his
 “ table; and to-morrow my Lord of Nismes gives
 “ an entertainment, to which fifty persons of dis-
 “ tinction are invited; and so on.

“ The dissolution of the states will be attend-
 “ ed with no diminution in the finances. The
 “ free gift, which is the principal business of these
 “ assemblies, may be regulated like a common
 “ tax levied from year to year.”

The door of the provincial states being thus
 shut up, that of the assembly of the clergy im-
 mediately burst open: it was still the same object,
 but here discussed in great.

The business, as in the other assemblies, was the
twentieth denier, and the free gift: though this bo-
 dy, whenever called on by the King, pleads indi-
 gence, yet it knows that it is so far accounted
 rich, that all its studied speeches, on those occa-
 sions, cannot bring the public to think it poor.

It

It endeavours therefore to compound with the King, and this time offered seven millions and a half to be exempted from the impost. I have heard a person, very well skilled in such affairs, say, that the clergy should not be allowed to compound for taxes; but that if any composition were to be admitted, it ought to be with the commonalty; which, as being most burthened, should be preferred before all the other bodies put together.

The affairs of the closet did not interrupt the court entertainments: the King hunted as usual, came to the plays, and every day supped with me in the little apartments. A tender and affectionate friendship now closely united us; desire was superseded by a calm inclination; the friend had succeeded the mistress; our hearts glowed with all the complacency arising from passions, without any of the disagreeable circumstances accompanying them. Several women had inspired Lewis XV. with love, but not one had he met with of a turn to make him feel the delights of friendship, which a generous soul will always prefer. The former is a commerce of pleasures, the gratification of which is almost ever followed by disgust: the second is a mild settled delight, resident in the mind, and if it does not minister any relish to the senses, is more lasting, lively, and refined. The King himself, at this time, assured me, that had he at first felt the delights of friendship, he should never have given himself up to those of love. All passion was now subsided in him; for this name is not to be given to those desultory gallantries, when the constitution only prompts to pleasure, without any concurrence of the heart.

This excellent Prince often said to me, that he was happy in having a real friend, to whom he could communicate his satisfactions and his troubles,

bles, for kings have theirs like other men; one of his greatest was the distresses of the people, and the impossibility of relieving them so speedily as he could have wished. He laid open to me the whole state of his mind, without any reserved secrets; all his heart was as well known to me as my own: it was an uneasiness for us to part, and we always met again with redoubled pleasure.

The King, as I said in the beginning of these Memoirs, had soon after my first appearance at court, made me Marchioness de Pompadour; and, that I might remain there with the greater decency, created me *a Lady of the palace*. This new place should have convinced all Europe, that there was no other commerce between his Majesty and me than what arose from esteem and friendship. But ill-nature pursues its point, regardless of all probabilities; and the state-malecontents picked out this passage of my life to mangle my reputation, &c.

To return to politics: business went on at Versailles with great dispatch, that the King might the sooner have the satisfaction he so passionately desired, of diminishing the imposts, and making his people enjoy the benefits of peace.

The marine was the principal point in view: M. Rouillé had hastily got together a little fleet, which, putting to sea, gave no small umbrage to the English. The British nation, with all its natural composure, is all in flames at the bare mention of a French navy: concerning this, I remember a jest at that time, *that the Britons could not close their eyes since France had an eye to its maritime concerns; and that were we to build a hundred ships of the line; not a soul in England would have any sleep.*

This navy, however, was but a beginning, and far short of what was intended. Yet could Eng-

land

land ask France, " what was the destination of these ships?" M. de Puisieux gave my Lord Albemarle for answer, " that the King of France was not accountable to any power in Europe; that France was at peace with Great Britain; and that, consequently, the latter had nothing to apprehend from those ships."

The court of St. James's seemed satisfied; yet more closely watched our measures.

The government's attention was for some time taken up with books; the French, than whom perhaps no people in Europe are more restrained in their speeches, still affect to be the first in their thoughts. They print their notions on what comes uppermost, and the government is ever the first thing to fall under their pen. It is said that this licentiousness is owing to the above restraint; and I have heard that were not so many authors sent to the Bastille, Paris would not swarm with them as it does.

Very few of these seditious writings will bear reading, some of them are not so much as worth a *lettre de cachet*. To make the authors of mere trash the King's pensioners, is doing them too much honour.

Though the assembly of the clergy granted every thing required, it did not give every thing. On which the court sent a remonstrance to that body, which it answered with another remonstrance; but herein it so little observed the bounds of moderation, that the King dissolved the assembly, and confined the bishops to their dioceses. The next day a courtier said in the King's antechamber, " that they ought to be sent out of the kingdom, and priests put in their places:" this act of prerogative so humbled the prelates, that they offered to comply with all his Majesty's pleasure.

A nobleman said to the King, *Sir, if your Majesty will be no more troubled with the clergy's remonstrances, a sure way will be, to forbid the bishops coming to Paris; they will assent to the free gifts, or to any terms, only allow them to live there.*

However, this affair of the bishops disturbed the King; and one day he said to me, with some emotion, *They are perpetually vexing me. No sooner have I raised a poor ecclesiastic to a dignity of a hundred thousand livres a year, than he sets up for a leading man among the clergy, and votes against the free gift.* Sir, said I to him, *methinks there is a way of satisfying all. The crown should, on the death of the present possessor, appropriate to itself half of the revenue of the larger benefices. This would be no tax on any one. There is not a subject in France, designed for the church, who would not think himself under the highest obligations to your Majesty, in conferring on him an abbey, or a bishopric, with a revenue less, by half, than what the present possessor makes of it. I take upon me to bring about the composition; I make no doubt but that I shall find, in the kingdom, two hundred ecclesiastics, who will gladly set their hands to such an agreement.*

This diminution cannot be accounted unjust, your Majesty having the nomination to all the large benefices in the kingdom; and the giver is always master of his gifts. No complaint lies against a Prince, who, instead of a hundred and twenty thousand livres a year, which he can bestow on one of his subjects, gives him sixty thousand, &c. &c.

These few words, spoken only cursorily, were, a few days after, followed by an express memorial addressed to the Count de St. Florentine, and which he presented to the King.

MEMORIAL

On the inequality of the taxes raifed on the Clergy.

“ It is a received maxim in economics, that a geometrical equality in the levying of taxes lessens the weight of them. A burden borne by all the members of a body is always light.

“ The uneasiness of the clergy concerning the free-gift, and other impositions, towards answering the necessities of the state, proceeds not so much from the impositions, as from the assessments. The dignitaries, who should pay the most, always pay the least, considering their incomes. The whole load falls on the poor parish priests, and other country incumbents, who have scarce a subsistence, and are more burthened as clergymen than as subjects.

“ That the assembly of the bishops tax themselves, and the whole ecclesiastical body, is not a privilege belonging to the clergy, but a mere indulgence of the Kings of France, granted them with a proviso, that the assessments should be equitable, and that the inferior priests, who are the King’s subjects no less than the greater ecclesiastics, should not be overcharged.

“ The tax is rated by the income, which is an iniquitous assessment: a priest with only a hundred crowns a year, paying a crown, in effect, is rated much higher than a bishop, who, with a hundred thousand livres a year, pays a thousand: a yearly income of ninety-nine thousand livres being ever more or less superfluous; whereas he who has only a hundred crowns, by being deprived of one, must feel it in the very necessities of life.

“ The inferior clergy are the King’s subjects equally with the higher. To allow the bishops to tax priests, because they are subordinate to

“ them, is a manifest error in government, the
 “ spiritual power having no claims in temporals.
 “ The imposition and assessments of taxes apper-
 “ tain to the crown, the mitre has nothing to do
 “ in it.

“ The whole body of the clergy should be tax-
 “ ed once for all, like the body of the laity: what
 “ tax the clergy can pay may be easily known;
 “ it is only taking an account of the several sums
 “ which the clergy has paid for these last twenty
 “ years; the twentieth part of the amount will
 “ be a fair yearly tax, as in twenty years an ex-
 “ act calculation may be made of the periodical
 “ wants of the state. In this interval, all the re-
 “ volutions may be reduced to a general sum.

“ It may be left to the clergy’s choice to pay
 “ the tax, without holding an assembly: this
 “ might be done by a tarif on the large and small
 “ dignities and benefices, or the tax might be le-
 “ vied by the King’s officers, as on the other
 “ subjects of the state.

“ The latter most comports with the dignity
 “ of the crown, and will likewise be more ad-
 “ vantageous. As the church is daily making ac-
 “ quisitions, and its general opulence is continu-
 “ ally increasing by donations, the clergy’s pay-
 “ ments should be raised in proportion to their
 “ aggrandizement.

“ This rise of the clergy’s tax would be no
 “ more than what takes place in the common im-
 “ posts. Artificers and trades-people pay more in
 “ proportion to their thriving, though this be by
 “ their own labour and industry.”

The American affairs, of which not a word had
 been heard since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,
 now began to employ the court’s attention. The
 English complained, by their ambassador, my Lord
 Albemarle,

Albemarle, that the French countenanced the Indians in their practices, and, underhand instigated them to molest their settlement in Nova Scotia. M. de Puisieux told the British minister, that the people of London were mistaken; "The court of France, said he, knows nothing of this supposed instigation; and, very probably, it exists only in the suspicious minds of the English."

However, the first sparks of that fire, which was to kindle the war afresh, already began to appear. Advice came from Canada, that the Indians were in motion; and though the cabinet of Versailles did not give direct orders to the French to oppose any such motion, neither did it tell them not to do so. This silence left the commanders to guess how they were to act; accordingly, they did not declare openly, but let second causes take their course.

A minister of a foreign court, formerly allied with France, and who, at that time, was frequently with M. de Puisieux, put into his hands a memorial on this head, which the King never saw, and it was not till long after that I read it.

"France, said that piece, is not yet in a condition to go to war again: things should be left to remain as they are, till she is able to cope with England; otherwise every thing will be ruined. The war by sea will give the turn to that by land: Great Britain will chuse this juncture for inducing the King of Prussia to declare against France, which thus will have two weighty wars on its hands, and only for a continent of no great importance, and which, at last, it will certainly lose, for the events of this war may be easily foreseen.

"The English navy is much superior to that of France; and the King of Prussia has two hundred thousand well disciplined men, ready,

“ at the first order, to march and make a power-
“ ful diversion in Germany; and, with the ad-
“ dition of those in England, will unquestionably
“ turn the scale in the north. France is very well
“ as it is, and should aim at nothing beyond keep-
“ ing itself so, till a favourable opportunity shall
“ enable it to do better.

“ Nothing in America calls for haste; you will
“ always have time enough to make good your
“ claims there: the Savages are your friends; they
“ cannot endure the English. At present inter-
“ fere no farther than fomenting this variance
“ without promoting it; the time will come when
“ you may make your own use of it: precipitancy
“ spoils the most promising affairs; whereas time
“ and patience bring every thing to bear.

“ Don't imagine that your intrigues with the
“ Americans blind Europe; the most clandestine
“ practices of courts are always detected. Already,
“ you are made accountable for the proceedings
“ of the Canadians, though you appear not to
“ concern yourselves about them. It is known to
“ all Europe, that the North American savages
“ act without any continued design, when not
“ spirited up and directed. Every body knows
“ those automata have no will of their own, say-
“ ing and doing only just as they are bid to do.

“ Your navy is but in its infancy, scarce begun
“ to be formed, so that a war only of two years
“ would totally destroy it. Before engaging in a
“ war, there is a sure way of knowing whether
“ it should be undertaken, which is to weigh the
“ advantages of the conquests with the disadvan-
“ tages of the defeats.

“ Should you beat the English at sea, which is
“ a circumstance out of all probability, you will
“ retain North America, which you already have;
“ if

" if beaten, and here the likelihood lies, you will
 " lose America, and perhaps all your other colo-
 " nies, for one conquest ever leads to another.

" The English, though beginning the war only
 " on account of Canada, will avail themselves of
 " their first victory to enlarge their views: and
 " the court of St. James's may afterwards strike
 " out such a scheme of destruction to France, as
 " perhaps, at present, it does not think of.

" A great disadvantage to France, is its having
 " no ally who can help it to recover its losses
 " against the English: the Spanish navy is in no
 " better condition than that of France; and the
 " Dutch rejoice in a war between the maritime
 " powers, were it only for the vast advantages
 " accruing to them from their neutrality. A con-
 " tinental power may retrieve the loss of a battle
 " by a subsequent victory; a more experienced
 " general, better disciplined troops, or more fa-
 " vourable circumstances, will give a turn to a
 " land-war; but the maritime concerns of France
 " are so situated, that a colony taken from it is
 " lost for ever; its ships, the only means of bring-
 " ing it again into the path of victory, being de-
 " stroyed."

This memorial, however approved by some po-
 liticians to whom I have since shewed it, had not
 the effect which might have been expected; ano-
 ther, afterwards presented to the same Minister,
 set the same object in a very different light.

It is said that the members of the English par-
 liament being generally of contrary opinions, long
 debates are very frequent in that assembly; and
 that these debates produce lights, from which the
 hearers receive great improvement, and become
 better qualified to serve their country. It is o-
 therwise in France: here the contrariety of opinions

only bewilders the understanding, and increases the confusion.

“ The Canada affair, said the last writer, too nearly concerns the French monarchy, to be left as it is. Every minute we lose diminishes our power, and augments that of our enemies. The war ought to have been continued, had not several causes forced the government into a peace; but those causes no longer subsisting, we should take up arms again.

“ The English will never keep within the limits assigned by the commissaries. They will, by skirmishes and secret practices, be ever endeavouring to come beyond those barriers: they must be prevented in time, their schemes must be destroyed at their very first appearance, otherwise it will be too late.

“ The loss of Canada would be an inconceivable detriment to France. It is that to which England owes its being mistress of the sea, opening to it numberless branches of commerce, which it would never have known without being possessed of this continent.

“ Though we have no great navy, yet have we shipping enough; a sea quarrel is not the point, but a land war. It is enough for us to send over some troops to Canada; the American affairs have no connection with those of our country. Should any disturbances happen in Germany, they will spring from a quite different cause; and if the King of Prussia declares against France, it will be for some particular views of his own, quite foreign to our colonies; he would declare himself, if we had no dispute with the Britons about Canada.

“ It is not the first time of our having several wars on their hands, or, rather, it is impossible that we should have but one at a time.

“ Our

“ Our concerns are so closely linked with the
 “ other powers of Europe, that on our arming,
 “ five or six princes cannot avoid declaring.

“ The situation of affairs in Canada lays us
 “ under a necessity of renewing the war: we can-
 “ not continue in the state we now are in; the
 “ capital effort of our politics should be to recover
 “ the advantage which we lost by means of the
 “ English.

“ Amidst all the magnified superiority of the
 “ British navy, its successes are not so certain as
 “ supposed. Advantages in war depend on a great
 “ number of unforeseen events. It is often ob-
 “ served, that the certain expectation of a victory
 “ has suddenly turned into the disappointment of
 “ a defeat.

“ England has not had time, since the peace,
 “ to increase its marine; its naval force is, at this
 “ day, just as it was at the end of the war. Be-
 “ fore the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, we could
 “ defend ourselves at sea, and still can: but if
 “ we defer any longer, the time will be over;
 “ for the British navy now is encreasing every day.
 “ Our's will be so much inferior, as not to dare
 “ to shew its face before them; and then we shall
 “ be obliged to relinquish North America.

“ Let us, without delay, begin the war again,
 “ and then we shall drive the English out of Ca-
 “ nada; whereas, by continuing the peace, they
 “ will dispossess us. This is no time for parlying;
 “ we must either give up that part of America to
 “ England, or prepare to dispute it.

“ The savage nations are our allies, they mor-
 “ tally hate the English; and shall we delay avail-
 “ ing ourselves of such a favourable disposition? A
 “ people without any fixed laws, is naturally given
 “ to change. The Canadians love war, and de-
 “ pise such nations as live in peace: twenty years
 F 5 inactivity

“ inactivity would give them an ill opinion of the
 “ French; whereas, seeing us at war with a na-
 “ tion whom they hate, they will esteem us, and
 “ come into a closer alliance with us than before,
 “ &c.”

These memorials made no alteration in the general system; both sides continued to dissemble, and express a desire of cultivating the peace. England applied itself to increase its navy, and France sent orders to Brest and Rochfort, for building ships with the utmost dispatch.

Amidst the most earnest concern to redress the calamities of the state, no expedients could be found for so great and good an end. The people could not be relieved but by abolishing the taxes; and the expences of the state could not be answered but by new imposts: every branch of the government was embarrassed; so that the King often said to me, with a painful sense of such a situation, *I know not where to begin.*

The advantages of the encouragement of tillage, the improvement of arts, the increase of trade, the discharge of the national debt, were only in perspective; whereas the people stood in need of present relief. Observing that the public affairs greatly affected the King's temper and constitution, I contrasted them with diversions. I may say, the most gay and striking conceits of imagination, for pleasing the senses, were now exhibited at Versailles. In all the entertainments which I gave to the Monarch, there was little of my own; I had people of taste at Paris who furnished me with original materials, to which I only gave a few touches.

Amidst all my inventions to draw the court from that mournful state which the perplexity of affairs shed on it, I perceived that the King was not so chearful as I could have desired. He had a cloudi-
 ness

ness in his looks, which were naturally sprightly; he was, likewise, more thoughtful than usual. Alarmed at this lugubrious scene, I took the liberty to ask his Majesty the cause of so unhappy an alteration. He vaguely answered, "that he was not sensible of any alteration, and that my company still was his chief delight:" the revolution, however, was but too certain.

My enemies having miscarried in their design of inducing the King to remove me from court, by political motives, set religion to work; and no less a person than his Majesty's confessor was put at the head of this cabal. He was a Jesuit with only morality for his instrument; but as that, with a Prince, seldom gets the better of pleasure, he contrived a way which struck my Monarch.

This reverend father employed one of the best hands in Paris, in a picture representing the torments of hell. Several crowned heads seemed chained down in dreadful sufferings; there was no beholding their contortions without shuddering. This infernal master-piece he made a present of to Lewis XV. The King having viewed it for some time with a frown, asked the meaning of the picture, the very thing the son of Loyola wanted.

"Sire, said he, the Prince you see there suffering eternal torments, was an ambitious Monarch, who sacrificed his people to his vain delight in glory and power. He next to him, whom the devils are insulting, was an avaricious monarch, who laid up in his coffers immense treasures, squeezed from his oppressed subjects. This third wretch was an indolent sovereign, who minded nothing, and instead of governing by himself, left every thing to his ministers, whose incapacity produced infinite mischiefs. This fourth, whose sufferings exceed those of the others, his crime being greater, was a voracious
"luptuous.

“luptuous King, openly keeping a concubine at
 “his court; and by this scandalous example had
 “filled his kingdom with debauchery, &c.”

The allegory was coarse, and becoming a monk, who, in the want of the means to attain his ends in this world, has recourse to things of the other life. Lewis XV. who saw into the drift of the picture, ordered the moralist to withdraw, but the impression remained.

This was not the first time that the churchmen had presumed on their office, and abused the King's goodness. A prelate had made him perform an ignominious act of penitence when sick at Metz.

I used fresh endeavours to relieve the King from this return of languor, and had in a great measure succeeded, when a family concern brought on a severe relapse.

The Dauphin was now in his twenty-second year, which, by the custom of France, intitled him to be intrusted with the affairs of the crown. This Prince had always shewn the most submissive deference to the King his father, but of late had put himself at the head of a party, most of whom were my enemies: they exposed me with all the venom of scurrility, and even brought in the King. Lewis XV. knew it, and this was what occasioned that inward conflict which gave him so much trouble. After communicating his situation to me, he said, *And what would you do, Madam, in such a case?*
 “Sire, answered I, I would admit his Royal High-
 “ness the Dauphin into every council, and allow
 “him all the honours due to his rank and birth.”
Well, said the King, *I will follow your advice;* and soon after the Dauphin saw himself sent for on every important deliberation.

M. de Machault, then at the head of the finances, left no stone unturned to put them in a good condition: he was urged on every side. M.
 Rouillé

Marchioness of POMPADOUR. 1-2

Rouillé asked very large sums to form a navy; ^{by} prayers of annuities were perpetually at his elbow^d and his apartment was never clear of those who had advanced money in the late war. He one day said to the King, in my hearing, *Sire, I know not how in the world, I shall answer your engagements; every body is making demands on me, and no body will give me any credit.*

Marshal Belleisle, to whom that laborious minister often used to pour forth his lamentations, told him, “ Sir, I see but one way for you, which “ is to make the state a bankrupt. When a machine is out of order, the only remedy is to stop “ its motion, and to set it to rights again.”

This advice, however, was not followed; and instead of stopping the machine of the finances, in order to set it to rights again, it remained in all its former disorder. I have somewhere, among my papers, a scheme for discharging the national debt, in which the author, who was accounted a very skilful œconomist, advanced, that, for the settlement of an invariable order in the finances, the state, every twenty-five years, should declare itself insolvent; and the creditors compound with the King, as with a private insolvent.

“ France, said this paper, will not hear of “ making itself a bankrupt, but the way it takes to “ avoid it, is still more burthenfome; for when “ the King’s debts grow troublesome, does he not “ lay very onerous imposts on the people for the “ payment of them? Now this is a remedy worse “ than the disease, because the collecting of a tax, “ it is known, falls little short of doubling it. “ He extorts from one to pay another; a bankruptcy would ruin only a part of his subjects, “ whereas the means of payment impoverishes “ every body.”

I am

“ am not sufficiently acquainted with finances, “ determine whether a wise King, in order to make his people easy, should begin by forfeiting the confidence of the wealthy part of his subjects. There are always some exceptionable things in these kinds of memorials. A person of a great genius has often told me, “ that should all the fine projects, for making France the most opulent state in Europe, be carried into execution, it would perhaps make it the very poorest in the universe.”

The particular favour with which Lewis XV. continued to honour me, drew great numbers to my apartment, so that I had every morning a full court: some persons of eminence appeared there purely to please the King; but the business of the multitude was interest. I had brought the latter to give me memorials, as otherwise, I could never have recollected so many different objects. It is impossible for those who live at a distance from court, to conceive the various classes of askers, and what a number of favours the throne has the pleasure of bestowing.

I have read, in an original paper, that Lewis XIV. allowed all his subjects, who had any demand to make at court, to apply directly to himself. Had such an indulgence been continued under the present reign, Lewis XV's whole life would have been taken up only in giving audiences. These memorials I had read to me, and afterwards talked them over to the King.

Besides those who asked favours, I was likewise teased with complainers, and indeed these were usually more in number than the others.

In so large a kingdom as France, it is scarce possible to prevent all abuses; some necessarily arise from the very constitution, and the maintenance of political

political order. But one complaint so particularly struck me, that I thought it deserved to be laid before the king. This was the disregard of the children of officers dying in the service of their country.

A general officer, if no gentleman by birth, though, by his courage, he had secured the privileges both of the throne and nobility, leaving issue, they were excluded from nobility; and soon coming to intermix with the commonalty, no trace remained of the families which had performed the greatest services to the state: a hero's achievements died with him, his posterity were never the better for his exploits. This I mentioned to the king with a sensible concern, and some time after his Majesty, ever inclined to what was good and proper, issued an edict, ennobling military officers and their posterity. The different degrees of this nobility were specified in the edict, according to the different ranks of the officers.

No body in the kingdom apprehended that I had any share in this resolution; so that, unless my papers should be looked over, posterity will never know that this establishment, which gave so much satisfaction, was owing to me.

The courtiers were in as great a ferment as ever. They who found there was no pushing their fortune by my means, endeavoured to hurt me. Herein they often made use of indecent, and even insolent talk, besides the baseness of calumny. Several cabals had been formed, and these produced clashing and competitions, which affected the crown, as stirring up discontent in those who held the principal posts of the state.

The chancellor de Aguesseau pleaded his great age, and laid down business, as no longer able to bear the weight of it. A courtier, who was present when the King received his resignation, said

to

to him, *Certainly, Sire, M. de Aguesseau must be above a century old, for at a hundred years, one is still young enough to be chancellor of France.*

Several other place-men quitted, alledging that they could not live in a court where every thing was ruled by a woman: but this philosophy was of the latest; they never had any thoughts of retirement, till their endeavours to raise themselves to the very highest pitch of fortune, had miscarried; and some, in their voluntary exile, had set instruments to work, for making their appearance again on the theatre of power, which they had so lately quitted.

M. de Machault had the seals. This circulation of posts, diametrically opposite in practice, and requiring different talents, has been the subject of much complaint: but the fault lies in ambition. In France subaltern posts are looked on only as introductory to the more honourable and lucrative employments. On the vacancy of any great office, my apartment was crowded with competitors, who all had a genteel competency; but they wanted profitable posts, to make a show in the world.

The round of diversions which I had settled at Versailles, to recover the King from that lethargic heaviness which was growing constitutional, did not break in on general affairs. Lewis XV. daily devoted six hours to business. In the morning he employed himself about the foreign and domestic affairs.

The death of Marshal count Saxe now cast a damp on the festivity of the court. I remember a man of wit, being in my apartment when the news came, said to me, *Now, Madam, we shall soon have a war, for he was the only one of all his Majesty's generals whom the King of Prussia in the least feared.*

The

The frequent conferences between Lewis XV. and this hero gave me an opportunity of studying his temper; for there is a pleasure in knowing great men; and his mind was of a singular cast: all his private behaviour favoured of the common man, great only in the day of action; then his soul if I may be allowed the expression, assumed a new form; it became piercing, noble, and exalted: a new light beaming on his mind, he had an instantaneous perception of every thing. His imagination had nothing to do, the military genius which inspired him at those times was all-sufficient; yet after the battle, all this flame and magnanimity sunk again into littleness and vulgarity, nothing great remained in him but the fame of his actions.

In private life, he addicted himself to sensuality in its most brutish excesses; he was a stranger to that refined love which distinguishes noble from vulgar souls, delighting in the company of women only for debauchery; for all his mistresses were common prostitutes. Whilst he was disturbing all Europe by his victories, the gallantries of La Favart, an actress, allowed him no ease.

They who were often with him say, that he had scarce any tincture of learning; war was all he knew; and that he knew without learning it. Some politicians have thought, that his death wrought a change in the systems of Europe, and particularly, that the king of Prussia would never have renewed the war, had Maurice been living: it is certain that one man may change the whole scene of our political world.

I have read, in original memoirs of Lewis XIV. of surprising revolutions, brought about only by the ascendancy of one mortal. Count Saxe had long laboured with indefatigable ardour in pursuit of a repose which he never enjoyed; for scarce had he

he seen himself in that summit of grandeur to which his military talents had raised him, than death laid him in the grave. Besides the royal seat given him by the King, in reward of his services, with suitable incomes, he was invested with the highest dignities and honours.

This general left behind him an incontestable reputation; his very enemies allow him to have been a consummate warrior; but if he did a great deal for France, France still did more for him; he never wanted for any thing. The King's commissaries constantly furnished him with plenty of all necessaries; he had large armies, and fought in a country which has almost ever been the theatre of French victories, and where the glory of the French name has shone in its greatest lustre. Farther, Maurice had with him the King's best troops, impatiently longing to signalize themselves. I heard one of the trade, and reckoned to understand it thoroughly, say, that to be a hero, a man should have passed through all the military paths leading to glory; whereas Maurice, in the service of France, trod only one, and that smoothed for him; he was never put to those trials where a commander, being forced to exert all his abilities, approves himself a general.

I have read in the manuscript memoirs of Lewis XV. that the great Conde's enemies put the Queen-mother on sending him into Catalonia only with a small body of troops, and those of the very worst. Conde, who knew his enemies views, wrote thus to his friend Gourville: *I have been sent here to attack the gods and men, with only shadows to fight them. I shall miscarry; how can it be otherwise, when the means of beating the enemy have been all taken away from me?* Yet this hero, under the disadvantages both of numbers and the climate, baffled all the efforts of Spain.

The

The death of Marshal Saxe occasioned a revolution in the minds of the military courtiers. They who hitherto had hid themselves behind his merit, made their appearance: all put in for this hero's post, and not one of them was qualified for it.

The King, on the first notice of count Maurice's death, said, *I am now without any general, I have only some captains remaining.* Lowendahl, however, was still living; but it is said, the genius of those two men was formed to be together, and that the heroic virtues of the latter derived their splendor from the superior qualities of the other. A courtier said, on this head, *Lowendahl's exploits are over; his counsellor is dead.*

Whilst Versailles was full of this event, the Pope's nuncio came to acquaint Lewis XV. that the King of Prussia had granted the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion at Berlin; and that even the religious were allowed to settle, and wear the habit of their respective orders. A courtier hereupon said to the King, *Sire, that Prince is for having a little of every thing. Once nothing would go down with him but soldiers, now he must have some monks.* Another courtier replied, *Since he begins to fancy gowns, let me advise your Majesty to make him a present of all the Jesuits in France.* A third added, *That article should be kept for the next treaty of peace, and let six Loyolites be exchanged for one soldier.* The systematical people, however, attributed this indulgence to policy; for when a Prince is looked on to be full of schemes and designs, every step of his is nicely canvassed, and various constructions put on it. Some said that the King of Prussia thereby intended to ingratiate himself with the court of Rome, as, by its intrigues with weak and superstitious princes, it can amply make up its want of temporal strength. Some thought

thought it to arise from a new system of population, to draw Catholics thither from other parts; but the monks and priests of our faith do not increase population, &c. &c.

For my part, I attributed it to the humour for new foundations, which prevails with all the princes of our days. On examining the constitution of the Prussian government, which is an absolute monarchy, the plurality of religions, will by no means appear suitable to it; at least I have heard from a very intelligent person, that it is only in republics where a freedom of religion can be properly allowed.

For some time the King had been more chearful than usual: after so many vexations and fatigues, he now began to breathe a little; he was at leisure to be often with me, and to hunt as much as he could. Never was a Prince so fond of this exercise. His eagerness in it often fatigued him beyond all bounds. I one day represented to him, that he made a toil of that pleasure, and that it would be better for him to be more moderate in it; that excess in any thing was hurtful: but he answered, that the more he hunted, the better he found himself. This is a new medical system; the court-physicians, who are all for motion and agitation, will have kings to spend half their life on horse-back.

But a great satisfaction, which that 1750 justly beloved Prince now felt, was the having given some relief to his burthened subjects. He had remitted three millions of the land-tax, abolished the hundredth denier, and the pence per livres levied on this impost. Though this was no great good, it presaged the end of a great evil.

At the same time, Lewis XV. ordered an inquiry into the nature of the taxes; of all imposts, the

the land-tax was found to be the most burthensome, as not proportioned to the real income. The old tax was still levied, without considering any decays, or damages of estates and lands; many a market-town, or village, which had formerly been able to pay large sums, was now no longer so; yet the same duty was required.

The government deliberated on ways for abolishing such an unequal tax, and substitute another of a more proportionate assessment. This had, for some time past, been often proposed, but always rejected. It was now again taken into consideration, and after the most minute discussions, it was found best to leave things as they were, lest worse inconveniencies might ensue. It is said, there are abuses in government, the reformation of which would do more harm than the very abuse itself. This was the opinion of the ministers, and of the King himself; but it was not mine, having always thought that no good can come from evil. We had often little debates about government, for Lewis XV. as I have said in the beginning of these Memoirs, has a great deal of wit and good-sense, and especially a very ready penetration. “ You, Madam, would he
 “ say to me, look on the political community as
 “ a private family, whereas it is to be considered
 “ as an universal society, consisting of different
 “ bodies, the conjunction of which constitutes the
 “ state. Amidst this immensity of objects, conducted by men of opposite views and interests;
 “ the security and well-being of the state is upheld
 “ by those very things which seem to undermine
 “ it. In a private family, there is only one single
 “ plan of administration, the abuses are few, easily
 “ animadverted on, and the reformation of them
 “ restores that unity of government which is the
 “ perfection of such a society: but in the general
 “ community,

“ community, good is to be continually ballanced by evil, and in this equi-poize lies the political order of the state.

“ If so, Sir, said I to him, how is it that those states, where the most abuses are reformed, are the best governed. The Muscovites, of all the European nations, were the least civilized, and consequently the most unhappy, till Peter the Great appeared, who vigorously suppressing abuses of all kinds, from his reformation has sprung a powerful nation, a rich and happy people.

“ Brandenburg had neither force nor power; the art of war was scarce known there; it lay in obscurity; it was of no account among the states of Europe; and this contemptible condition was, in a great measure, owing to many abuses which its sovereigns either could not or would not reform. But in our times, one of its sovereigns has suppressed abuses, introduced political order and military discipline; and this reformation has enabled him to act a capital part on the theatre of Europe.

“ England is said once to have been nothing, till the parliament took in hand to form its power. It has since been continually retouching the political system, and correcting a number of abuses, which, for several centuries, hindered this state from emerging into power and reputation; and now its *bills* shew the continued system of its greatness.

“ France, Sir, is a home instance of this. Lewis XIII. a weak Prince, and wholly governed by his ministers, concerned not himself about abuses; he left the state as he found it, full of mismanagement and disorder. Your great grandfather changed the whole, and by the reformation

"mation he brought about in all the branches of government, imparted as it were, a new genius to his people.

"France, during the first years of Lewis XIV. rose to a pitch of glory and grandeur beyond any thing ever seen in the Roman empire."

Here the King smiled, and very obligingly said to me, "I own, Madam, I did not think you had been so well acquainted with these points; it gives me infinite pleasure that, besides the graces of wit and vivacity, you are possessed of that knowledge which enlarges and revives the judgment. The world is often deceived in those matters, continued the King, and the greatness of Princes is almost ever confounded with the happiness of the people. A Sovereign may make reformations in his kingdom, and his subjects be never the better for them; he is the only gainer by the change.

"Peter I. made considerable alterations in Muscovy, but did not thereby make the Russians a whit the happier. The revolution was felt only by the state. The Monarch became great and powerful, but the people still continued little and mean; for to have brought them from the abject state in which they then were, required the suppression of a multitude of civil abuses and vices, which continued after his time, and still subsist. The present Muscovites are sordid slaves, with all the ignorance and superstition of their fore-fathers, who lived before the reign of that great reformer Peter. And if the empire, once without a soldier, has now a numerous army; yet this adventitious power depends on the chance of a battle or two.

"Prussia, with all the reformations made there does not find itself more happy. The people, amidst

“ amidst their Monarch’s victories, groan under
“ the weight of the military burden laid on them;
“ and its power depends on the existence of one
“ single man. When Frederick comes to die, its
“ political state dies with him.

“ It is a question, continued the King, much
“ debated whether the English are more power-
“ ful, and are more happy, than they were be-
“ fore those volumes of reforming *bills* were in be-
“ ing: this is a point the nation itself is not agreed
“ on. There is a party in England which af-
“ firms that the government is intirely ruined,
“ and the political state indebted beyond what it is
“ able to pay; and that it cannot answer its ne-
“ cessities. Yet I am inclined to think that Eng-
“ land is increased in strength; but this is rather
“ owing to the inadvertency of other powers than
“ to any reformatations of its own, which would
“ have profited very little, had its neighbours fol-
“ lowed its example.

“ As to the instance of our own country, I have
“ wished that France had been in the same situ-
“ ation, at my accession to the throne, that Lewis
“ XIII. left it in. His successor, what with re-
“ formations, splendor, and glory, reduced it so
“ low, that it will be ages before it is thoroughly
“ recovered.

“ Our political discussions were always mixed
“ with politeness and compliments; never did a
“ word come from Lewis XV’s mouth which had
“ any thing of asperity in it, &c.

“ England still kept a watchful eye on the
“ French navy; and, on our side, the increase of
“ it was the ministry’s chief object. All M. Rou-
“ ille’s demands of money were immediately an-
“ swered, and he lost no time: ships were daily
“ launched.

“ France

France and England were, indeed, at peace; but acted with the same mistrust as if at open war; the public expences rose high; yet the French, who are continually complaining, did not in the least murmur, so convinced was every one of the absolute necessity of having a navy capable of facing that of Great Britain.

In the mean time, all the ministers continued declaring themselves against me; the very persons who, through my interest with his Majesty, had been promoted to the object of their wishes, were the most forward in promoting my disgrace. Since my living at Varsailles, I have often lamented this flagitiousness, which is, as it were, innate in the human mind. No sooner is a man invested with honour and power, than he studies to cut off the hand which raised him. It is not my intention to enter into all the arts and practices of my enemies; there would be no end of the allusions, tales, stories and songs, industriously disseminated over the kingdom to expose me. However, I was always exactly informed of what was said about me; but of some of my revilers I took no notice; others I threatened to complain of to the King. All, however, continued their abuses: I was a thousand times for leaving the court, had I not apprehended that the King being now habituated to see me daily, it might shorten his valuable life.

The Count de Argenfon, secretary at war, did not love me, saying, "That I gave too many military posts; that he had not so much as a lieutenancy of foot at his disposal." Now this accusation was so far from being true, that I never recommended any person to his Majesty, without previously consulting that Minister. It was purely my favour which rankled him; he wanted to

set the King against me, that he might ingross the whole royal favour to himself.

Peace being the season for public foundations, a plan of a military school, for instructing the French nobility in the art of war, was laid before his Majesty in the year 1751. *The kingdom, said the author, was full of gentlemen who, unable, conveniently, to put themselves under masters, led an inactive life in the country, instead of spending it in the service of the state.*

In this school five hundred gentlemen were to be boarded and educated: the King was pleased to shew me the plan, and asked my thoughts on it.

“ Sir, said I, nothing can be better ; I could only wish it more comprehensive. This school will not furnish officers enough for France, which is so frequently at war. I have heard Marshal Saxe say, That in an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, there was seldom less than twenty thousand officers ; so that only one fortieth of that number can be had from the military-school, which to me appears no small defect in a foundation, of itself, so excellent.”

A courtier, on reading the plan for this school, jocularly said, *This martial convent will afford very good military monks.*

The great objection made against it, by some discreet persons, was the exorbitant expence of it, at a time when every resource of the state had been drained to defray the extraordinary demands of the war. The expence, indeed, was not to be furnished from the royal treasury ; but from whatever fund sums are taken on such occasions, they are still burthensome, as tending to keep the people poor.

It was likewise said, that France stood more in need

need of a naval than a military-school; that the King might find a hundred land-officers in his dominions, for one sea officer; that the French gentry were naturally fond of signalizing itself in armies, and had as great an aversion to fleets; but the plan had been resolved on.

The powers of Europe were at peace, when religious disputes, breaking out, disturbed France in its political and domestic quiet.

Two parties, who, for forty years past, had been contending for the superiority, now returned to the charge. Being quite ignorant of the subject of their quarrels, I had it explained to me. Should ever these Memoirs be made public, the reader will be so kind as to excuse my tiring him with the following detail. Never had this evil found a place in these annals, had it not concerned the King; but his interesting himself in this dispute, and greatly so, is alone a sufficient motive for my giving some account of it.

A native of Spain, named Molina, in the fullness of his knowledge, took it into his head to decide, and vindicate, how God acts on mortals, and in what manner mortals withstand God. The Popes, who know every thing, and pronounce sentence on every thing, had, till then, been totally unacquainted with the mechanism of the metaphysical intercourse between the Creator and creature; and, for their better information, Molina invented many barbarous words, or scholastic terms, with innumerable distinctions and divisions.

To proceed in this dispute with some order, and wrangle theologically, he distinguished between *preventive* and *co-operating* grace: one of these graces could do any thing, and the other little or nothing; but this not being sufficient for understanding what he himself did not understand, he

farther invented the *mediate knowledge* and *congruism*.

According to him, God held a council of state in Heaven, before which all men were summoned and interrogated, how they will act after receiving his grace; and, according to the free use which he saw they were to make of it, he decreed within himself, either to admit them into Paradise, or cast them down into hell.

Unluckily for the Christian world, this Molina was a Jesuit; an order little beloved by the others; the Dominicans, especially, raised an outcry against his congruism.

These things being transacted in Spain, the Inquisition took cognizance of the altercation; and had they burned Molina, and a few Dominicans, there would have been an end of the matter, and, for once, this tribunal had done a good piece of service to Christendom. *Concomitant concurrence* and *co-operating grace* had a trial at Rome; but the more the parties disputed, the less understood they one another. A monk offered his mediation: but this mediator was less intelligible than the controversies.

The difficulty was not so much the putting an end to the dispute, as to know what the dispute was about. Neither party understood themselves or the other, and, in the mean time, with their free-will, mediate knowledge, complement of active virtue, &c. they ran themselves more and more into darkness.

The bickerings, at length, ceased for want of disputants, there being times when monks sacrifice every thing to indolence. All remained quiet, till one Cornelius Jansenius renewed the contest; yet, instead of inventing any thing, he only disputed behind a huge book, the author of which was named Baius. The Jesuits solicited the Pope

to condemn Cornelius, and by the dexterity of their agents at Rome, carried their point there; but in other parts of Europe, it went against them. The universities, the parliaments, and chiefly the women, profound judges of such things, sided with Jansenius.

A paper war commenced with great acrimony; congruism, by dint of bulky volumes, worsted predestination in some pitched battles: yet the war went on undecided; both parties being now grown powerful, and fighting merely for the honour of victory.

Till then, only private persons had appeared in the field; but now universities declaring themselves, the action became general. No accommodation was so much as talked of, there being no body, or society, in the state, of a power sufficient to compel the two parties to accept of its mediation.

In the mean time, the Molinist bishops drew up a condemnation of Jansenius's five articles, though, in the opinion of his party, they were no more than what St. Augustine himself had advanced. Several communities of men signed the condemnation; but the nuns, who have nothing to do, and eagerly catch at every opportunity which may bring them into the world again, protested against subscribing; and those of Port Royal distinguished themselves by their firmness or obstinacy.

I do not wonder that they refused subscribing, but am surprised that their subscription should have been required; it was shewing them a regard, on this affair, which ought not to have been shewn them: on their pertinacious refusal, they were forcibly removed, and dispersed into other convents; whereas the real punishment would

have been to have kept them always in the same spot.

The Popes, likewise, from time to time, issued new formularies, which gave an air of greater moment to the quarrel; but they had done much better to have left it to itself, and then Molina and Jansenius would soon have sunk into oblivion; but the court of Rome is ever for being absolute.

In the midst of this war, however, a truce was brought about. Clement IX. a man of good sense and prudence, drew up a set of articles of capitulation, had them signed by the Jansenists, and thus brought about a peace; but, unhappily, when religion is in the case, war soon kindles again.

A father of the oratory, named Quesnel, is said, this time, to have been the instrument of discord. He wrote a book which, after being applauded throughout all Europe, France censured. It was not very easy to point out wherein this book was to be found fault with; but religious cabals were then in fashion. The Molinist party, in the mean time, carried it with a high hand, having the king's ear.

The confessor to Lewis XIV. was a Jesuit, who formed parties both at court and in town, against the Jansenists, who keenly revenged themselves with their pens; thus, though there was a prevailing party, the war still continued.

Hitherto no manifestos had passed between the Molinists and the Jansenists, both parties, in the heat of their zeal, having taken up arms without any declaration of war. Lewis XIV. procured from Rome a bull, whereby a fire was kindled, which has not since been quenched. The Pope, the bishops, the King, the religious orders, in short, people of all ranks gradually engaged in the quarrel, to the great disturbance of the nation and families;

families; all plotting and caballing one against the other.

The principal object of public hatred was father Le Tellier, who over-ruled the King's conscience: this was a hot and ambitious man, who wanted to revenge some personal offences given him by the Jansenists, and, in pursuit of his drift, alarmed both the King's conscience and the kingdom.

Lewis XIV. towards the decline of his life, was grown weak and irresolute, and often harrassed with terrible fears of the devil. The hard hearted Jesuit had possessed him with a persuasion, that the affair of the Molinists was the cause of God. His resentment chiefly aimed at the cardinal de Noailles, and he had the confidence to move his penitent to depose him judicially. The death of this Prince brought on a suspension of this bustle, which was called the constitution.

The Duke of Orleans, who loved neither popes nor bishops, and despised bulls, in order to rid himself both of the Molinists and Jansenists, appointed commissioners for hearing their broils, separately from the other affairs of the monarchy; with an intent to deprive them of their public importance: but the wisdom of this precaution was frustrated; those people still were for figuring in the state. They appealed to a national council, which was nothing less than throwing off the yoke of the administration, to erect another independent of it. The regent banished and exiled both bishops and priests; but this remedy only inflamed the disease, hardening both parties in their obstinacy. The Jansenists and Molinists then formed themselves into two factions, under the names of *acceptants* and *recusants*. The *Acceptants* called the *Recusants* heretics, and the *Recusants* gave the appellation of schismatics to the *Acceptants*.

The frenzy for efficacious grace was bursting out with greater violence than ever, when the Mississippi scheme was set on foot; then avarice did what neither the Pope nor King could: all the people's thoughts now ran only on getting money. The names of Jansenists and Molinists were almost forgotten, though to this nothing perhaps contributed more than the contempt and ridicule which the Duke of Orleans put on this controversy, calling it a trifle; whereas Lewis XIV. had been made to lay it to heart, as an affair of the greatest concern.

The subsequent wars under Lewis XV. made the Jansenists and Molinists to be still farther forgotten, though not without some occasional skirmishes on predestination; but as there was no general action, they were not much heeded.

The dispute, in the mean time, was not totally extinguished, or rather it was a fire lurking under embers. In 1750, the Molinists renewed hostilities, refusing the Sacraments to sick persons of the contrary party, under pretence of their not having confessional certificates.

The parliament intervened, and punished the delinquents; by which the two parties regained the consideration, which they had lost by the Duke of Orleans's measures. This rupture gave rise to a new discussion, whether the parliament could intermeddle with this affair, or had any right to banish, or inflict punishments on priests, who, in refusing to administer the sacraments, only conformed to the injunctions of their bishops.

The Jansenists said that the civil magistrate has a power legally superior even to that of the church, the order of a state depending on such subordination; and they farther added, that the administration of the Sacraments is the capital branch of the polity exercised by the civil magistrate.

The

The answer of the Molinists was, that in spirituals they acknowledged no other superiority than that of the Pope and his bishops; that civil affairs were the parliament's province, and all it ought to concern itself in; but that the kingdom of heaven had been committed to pastors, and not lawyers.

The subjects, in the mean time, died without the sacraments; the priests indeed were punished, yet the evil remained, and this affair gave the King much uneasiness: the Bourbons indeed have always laid to heart religious disturbances: the court gave itself more concern about these confessional certificates, than ever it had shewn in the most important political transactions. It often became necessary to put a violence on priests, and make use of soldiers to compel them to administer. Never, from the birth of Christ, had such a thing been seen, as having recourse to the bayonet for the administration of the most sacred mystery. It was indeed a horrid scandal; but to see subjects, at the point of death, begging for the communion, and refused, was something still more shocking.

The King, one day, said to me, "These people give me a great deal of uneasiness; if they go on, I shall be obliged to turn all the priests out of their livings, and have their functions performed by Capuchin-friars, who are intirely as I would have them, &c." *

The court's attention now came to be taken up with an affair of still greater importance than the constitution itself; the election of a King of the Romans. The house of Austria, fond of its greatness, is always providing for the future security of it. As Charles VI. had engaged the Sovereigns of Europe to make themselves the instruments of his ambition, even after his decease; Maria Theresa,

in her life-time, took measures for fixing the Imperial throne in her family.

It was on a Prince who might be looked on as a Lorrainer, that she was conferring the title of presumptive heir; for Charles VI. dying without male-issuë, the house of Austria had ended in him. The circles of the empire accounted this measure a greater act of despotism than that of the late emperor; as hereby the empire, from an elective constitution, not only became hereditary, but even escheated to a foreign family: loud complaints were made, and that was all. It is now about a century, that the petty princes in Germany have not been able to shew their resentment against the house of Austria, any farther than by complaints and murmurs.

Maria Theresa, knowing how far her forces were superior to any which the Northern Princes could oppose to her designs, communicated her plan to the other courts of Europe, and to France one of the first. The King shewed me the Austrian ambassador's reasons, digested into writing by M. de Puisieux, after a conference with that minister. The artful turn given to them by ambition, makes them worthy of being preserved.

“ The calamities still recent, said that Amba-
“ sador, which the vacancy of the Imperial throne,
“ on the demise of Charles VI. brought on Europe,
“ should move Christian Princes to prevent the
“ like. The Emperor now reigning is in full
“ health, and it may be presumed, that God will
“ grant him length of days: but should one of
“ those many accidents to which human nature is
“ liable, disappoint the public hopes, and shorten
“ his valuable life, Christendom would be plunged
“ in the same abysses, as on the decease of the last
“ Emperor. It is therefore the concern of all
“ the European powers to prevent a war, that
“ scourge

“ scourge which throws every thing into confusion,
 “ lays waste whole nations, and thins mankind.
 “ The calamities caused by the late vacancy of
 “ the empire are not likely to be brought to a
 “ speedy end, and what will it be should new dis-
 “ turbances be accumulated on the former ?

“ Too many precautions cannot be taken against
 “ evils, which, when once happened, cannot be
 “ averted, or the issue of them determined.

“ By the election of a King of the Romans, the
 “ views of Princes who may have formed designs,
 “ are prevented; and the coronation once over,
 “ will suppress all cabals and intrigues about being
 “ head of the empire. When a sceptre is vacant,
 “ a great stir is made after it; but when once pos-
 “ sessed, it is no longer thought of.

“ Archduke Joseph, indeed, should the Em-
 “ peror die, is not of age to govern his dominions;
 “ but the evils of minority cannot be compared to
 “ those which the want of a head to the empire
 “ would occasion.

“ Not that the Queen of Hungary is in the
 “ least apprehensive of her heirs being deprived of
 “ a throne, the legal appenage of her family; her
 “ leading motive in this settlement is to prevent
 “ the needless effusion of blood.

“ On the death of Charles VI. it was seen that
 “ all Europe cannot make an Emperor. The
 “ Elector of Bavaria, after being placed on that
 “ throne by foreign armies, was always in a tot-
 “ tering condition; so that had not death deprived
 “ him of the crown, he would have been obliged
 “ to resign it, &c.”

I have observed that ambassadors, in cases of
 personal interest, generally overlook the regard due
 to Princes by the law of nations. Here the Vienna
 minister would have France subvert the very founda-
 tions

dations of the Imperial constitution, and make that crown hereditary, which had always been elective. He surely forgot that the house of Bourbon, as I have been told, had, at the treaty of Westphalia, made itself a guarantee of the liberties and privileges of the empire. His court seemed not to recollect that the election of a King of the Romans depended on the consent of the electors, in a diet held expressly for such election.

The King, on reading this Memoir, asked M. de Puisieux what he thought of the business. *Sir,* answered the Minister, *you must consent to every thing; it is no longer worth France's while to meddle with the affairs of Germany; at present the King of Prussia is able to keep up the balance in the North, and hinder the house of Austria from lording it over yours, so that all we have to do now, is to look on.* The council, however, was of a different opinion; but it is not the first time that one man has been wiser than an assembly.

The court of Vienna was likewise busy in bringing the other courts of Europe to countenance this election. That of England represented to the Marquis de Mirepoix, that it was the interest of France to close with the making a King of the Romans; doubtless, because it was theirs. This court afterwards went farther, and George the Second affirmed, that the election of a King of the Romans did not depend on the Electoral college; that is, that the dignity of presumptive heir to the empire might be conferred without any deliberation of the electors, which was making the Imperial crown absolutely hereditary.

I remember all the memoirs of that time agree in the Archduke's being very young, but they all likewise added, that an Emperor under age was better than a vacancy of the throne, which amounts to an approbation of a regular succession.

A po-

A politician of our court, with whom I was talking of this election, told me, that there was an article in the treaty of Westphalia, which formally settled this affair. It is there expressly said, *That no election of a King of the Romans shall be entered on, unless the reigning emperor be out of the empire, and with an intent to be absent a long time, or forever; or that age should render him incapable of government; or there should manifestly appear some great necessity on which the safety of the empire depended.* But treaties are never followed, and no more was said of this, than if it had never existed.

The King of Prussia alone stood up in defence of the Electoral-college; but he had his reasons for this specious conduct. The election of a King of the Romans secured the empire to the house of Austria; and it has been believed by many, that he himself looked that way. There is indeed no ambition, of which a Prince, so powerful in war as to subdue several nations, is not susceptible.

I return to Versailles, from whence the affair of the King of the Romans has carried me too far. Lewis XV. as I have said elsewhere, was now a little relieved from the load of business imposed on him by the war; peace allowed him a leisure, which was the very felicity of my life. Amidst the confusion of sieges and battles, he had no settled residence. Flanders had several times deprived me of him; but the treaty of peace intirely restored him to me, and his confidence in me daily increased; so that he even imparted to me his uneasiness, for kings have their troubles both as men and as Princes.

Lewis XV. would often lament that he had no friends, and had a thousand times wished to have been a private person, for the sake of cordial friendship and sympathy, to the effects of which Kings are always strangers.

“ No

“ No sooner have I distinguished a subject by
“ some considerable post, but a hundred others,
“ jealous of the favour, grow out of humour
“ with me; and, at the same time, I do not get
“ the love of him on whom I have conferred the
“ benefit; he complains that I have not done
“ enough for him, and they, for my having done
“ nothing for them. All love favour, and care
“ little for the King. I see about me only sordid
“ souls, slaves to pride and ostentation, acting
“ only from interest; so that were it not for the
“ many favours emaning from the throne, they
“ would not move a finger. Another, and rather
“ worse, inconveniency annexed to the crown, is
“ the impossibility for kings to distinguish honest
“ men from those of a different cast. They are
“ so like each other, as to be generally mistaken;
“ for at court vice and virtue appear in the same
“ colours. The bulk of those about me, I strongly
“ suspect to be void of any one generous prin-
“ ciple; but when I am for sifting them, my
“ rank will not allow of the proper measures.
“ Thus they remain impenetrable to me, yet I
“ must employ them in the service of the state;
“ and hence arise those public misfortunes, for
“ which I am answerable both to the present time
“ and to posterity.

“ When some important choice is to be made,
“ and I have pitched on the person, all France
“ seems to lay their heads together to deceive me.
“ His talents, his merit and virtue, are cried up
“ to me; not one honest man do I meet with in
“ the kingdom to mention a word of any fault of
“ his; they are afraid of incurring the displeasure
“ of him whom I have so recently distinguished
“ by my favour; and to this mean spirited fear
“ they sacrifice both me and the state.

‘ When,

“ When, on the other hand, I withdraw my
 “ confidence from a minifter, or fome other place-
 “ man, then I am told that he is deficient in every
 “ political quality: thofe very perfons who could
 “ never fay enough in his praife, now draw him
 “ in the moft contemptible colours; all his faults
 “ and errors, and finifter practices, are laid open
 “ to me in full detail. The terrible accounts
 “ given of him from all hands fet me againft him,
 “ fo that I cannot bring myfelf to employ him,
 “ even though, by the reflections on his paft con-
 “ duct and difgrace, he fhould afterwards become
 “ thoroughly qualified for a public ftation.

“ A patriot King is the moft unhappy mortal
 “ under the fun; he has his country’s happinefs
 “ at heart, and is befet by people who crofs his
 “ good intentions. The minifters are the firft
 “ in ruining a ftate, to fave themfelves the la-
 “ bour of reforming abufes: to leave things as
 “ they are, is foonest done; in the mean time,
 “ the evils continue, and when a Monarch, ten-
 “ der of the welfare of his fubjects, would re-
 “ medy them, he meets unfurmountable impedi-
 “ ments, for the habit of a long and bad admi-
 “ niftration at length comes to fupersede the laws
 “ and ufages, &c. &c.

Another time Lewis XV. was pleafed to open
 himfelf to me on the fame fubject: “ A great
 “ misfortune to a King is, that minifters generally
 “ conceal the true ftate of things from them. So-
 “ vereigns are always made acquainted with the
 “ calamities of their dominions the laft; and this,
 “ left fuch informations fhould put them on taking
 “ the reins of government into their own hands;
 “ and every one makes it his ftudy to keep them in
 “ the dark. The immense variety of concerns in
 “ a large monarchy, obliges him to truft to mi-
 “ nifters,

“ nisters, and these ministers, for the greater part,
“ play false with him. On the last war, I con-
“ sulted those who were at the head of the ad-
“ ministration, whether the advantages of victo-
“ ries would balance the inevitable misfortunes
“ of battles : one and all assured me, that by no
“ other way could the kingdom be retrieved, than
“ by the glory of my arms ; and that the lustre
“ and advantages derived from the victories, would
“ be the more lasting and solid, as due only to
“ the nation’s own strength.

“ At the peace, I found they had deceived me ;
“ my subjects are in the utmost distress, and all
“ owing to the war ; so that to recover them-
“ selves must be the work of years ; and should
“ fresh disturbances happen, it will never be
“ done, &c. &c.

I likewise had my complaints. “ Sir, said I to
“ the King, my grievances, though of a different
“ nature from yours, are not less painful. The
“ rancour of all France is pointed at me. The
“ royal family inveighs against me ; his royal High-
“ ness the Dauphin takes all opportunities of af-
“ fronting me : your ministers look on me as the
“ fatal rock on which all their designs go to wreck.
“ The chief families of the kingdom treat me with
“ contempt ; and all this because your Majesty
“ has thought me worthy of your esteem.

“ Many carry their malevolence so far, as to
“ impute the disorders of the finances to me, as
“ if the administration of affairs was lodged in
“ my hands. I am accused of having all the
“ money in the kingdom ; I am charged with
“ the nation’s debts, as if I myself had contract-
“ ed them. On any minister’s failing in his du-
“ ty, the blame is immediately laid on me. I am
“ exclaimed against for his being preferred, and
“ his disgrace is imputed as a crime to me.

“ It

“ It is I who bear the blame of all political misfortunes ; and if I have not been directly accused of having declared war against your enemies, it has been said, that I might have prevented those murderous sieges and battles, as if the fate of Europe was at my beck, and I could model foreign courts.

“ I have been reproached with the oversights of your generals ; not a battle has been lost, not a siege has been raised, but it is all owing to me. Even their personal variances and quarrels are laid at my door.

“ The public distresses, though the consequence of a bad administration, and the misfortunes of the times, have been attributed to me, as if my doing. The populace has hissed me, and was often for stopping my coach, and has been near coming to those extremities against me, with which they only are treated whose notorious malversation manifestly has ruined a people.

“ Yet, Sire, what gives me most pain, is the ingratitude of those who have felt the effects of my favour. I have often solicited your Majesty for persons, who were no sooner out of the meanness and obscurity from whence I drew them, than they forgot the kind hand by which they had been raised. I can reckon, hitherto, about three thousand persons who owe their subsistence to me. It is through my care that they have been brought into new stations, where they lost sight of me before they were well warm in their places.

“ Of such a great number, not one have I found with any due sense of gratitude ; nay, the greater the preferment, the less their acknowledgment ; some have even busily caballed against me : those whom I thought most my friends, and whom the important services I
“ had

“ had done them should have made such, have
 “ been the first in deceiving and injuring me. I
 “ have discovered treacheries at which I shudder-
 “ ed; so that since my living at court, I am
 “ grown sick of mankind. I should have died a
 “ thousand times under the anguish which such
 “ injurious treatment has caused me, had not
 “ the kindness with which your Majesty honours
 “ me reconciled me to life, &c.”

* The death of the Prince of Wales, eldest son to George II. and as such, presumptive heir to the crown of England, made some impression at Versailles: this Prince is said not to have been remarkable for those eminent qualities with whose brilliancy the world is so much taken: but they who knew him personally perceived in him the more solid virtues: compassion, goodness, sensibility, tenderness, candour, affability, a readiness to oblige, and delight in doing good; these were his leading dispositions: a Prince, in a word, qualified to make a people happy. He had married a German Princess, intirely deserving to ascend the throne with him. I have often pitied this Lady's fate, to lose an affectionate husband and a powerful crown at once, is one of those events which elevated souls alone can bear with firmness. His death occasioned a revolution in political affairs. France had great hopes of things going better, when that Prince should have come to the throne: there was no cordial harmony between him and his father King George. The son often crossed the father's measures, so that they seldom saw, and seldomer spoke to each other. From this disposition it was hoped, that a Prince, who so much disapproved the present system, would be less inveterate against the house
 of

of Bourbon than his predecessors had been. It was imagined that his accession would prove a happy turn for France, when, perhaps, it might have only made matters worse. The sons of Kings, at their entrance on regality, leave their ideas as Princes at the foot of the throne, and take up those of Kings.

George II. is said not to have shewn any great concern at the death of his son; appearing as usual in the drawing-room, and, within a few days, giving audience to Ambassadors: in this there might be a little affectation, it being the known character of that Prince to shew himself firm and unshaken, in the midst of the most unfortunate events. The rest of the royal family were in the deepest affliction: he was also greatly lamented by his household; and I am told, that his death is still matter of concern to many.

The death of this Prince likewise caused a national uneasiness, his children being very young, and King George advanced in years, which might be productive of the disorders almost inevitable under a minority. In order to prevent them, the Princess Dowager of Wales was nominated guardian to the King's successor, and regent to the kingdom, till her son should be of age; but the issue of the deliberation was, that this Lady, who had come into England to wear the crown, should be neither Queen nor Regent.

The French clergy's affair, though thought to be over, was still going on. The bishops and wealthy incumbents, amidst the privacy of their dwellings, to which they had been ordered, disturbed the state; though ardently desirous of returning to Paris, they were for coming at this privilege as cheap as they could, haggling a long time with the King, who, however, would make no abatement. They insisted on their immunities,
they

they pleaded their solemn promise to the Pope to maintain their rights. This dispute irritated the court, and not a little soured the King. At this juncture, a bishop took it into his head to come and expostulate with me about the clergy's prerogatives. This certainly was not taking the right time, for as this affair gave so much displeasure to his Majesty, it could not be very pleasing to me. The Prelate made a long-winded harangue, in proof that the church was not to disseize itself of its wealth. He recurred as far back as St. Peter, and through an enumeration of those bulls, by which the church is ordered to keep what it has, came down to our times. "My Lord, said I interrupting him, your prerogatives are what I know nothing of, but I know that your chief duty, like that of other subjects, is to obey the King. Say what you will of your bulls and immunities; every body of men declining to conform to its Sovereign's orders, is guilty of rebellion, and deserves the punishment of high treason."

A great many bad books came out against the clergy, in vindication of the King's cause. Among the several writers who, on these occasions take different parts, one wrote a pamphlet with the title of *An Impartial Inquiry into the Immunities of the Clergy*. This work was full of very judicious reflections, besides a nervous elegance of style: it was indeed the only one on the subject which deserves reading.

After all, it became necessary that the plan which had been proposed, and to which I myself had advised the King, should take place. This was to draw up a state of the value of every churchman's preferments, that each might be taxed in proportion to his real income; and accordingly the court ordered the intendants of the provinces

vinces to oblige all the beneficed clergy to deliver in an account of the nature of their several revenues. There was indeed a very hard clause, in case of a refusal; the intendants being expressly enjoined to seize on the several revenues in the King's name, and leave the beneficiaries only an alimentary pension. This was insuring their compliance; for being used to superfluity, they could but very indifferently shift with no more than was necessary.

The clergy of France had already begun to lower their voice, when the parliament of Paris raised theirs. I could find in my heart to say, that in France the state is ever out of order; no sooner has the Sovereign repaired some weak part of his prerogative, than another appears to be running to ruin.

The parliament, instead of conforming to his pleasure, according to their usual way, sent a deputation with remonstrances. These speeches set out with great protestations of respect and submission, but are seldom without some term which favours of a republican spirit, tending to independency; and not seldom they strike at the prerogative of the crown.

The King though naturally irresolute, had his intervals of firmness, in which he was immovable. He gave the deputies to understand, that he would have his edicts enrolled that very day, under penalty of disobedience and immediate punishment.

The parliament were sitting when the deputies returned to Paris; being forbid to deliberate, they registered the edicts. After this act of duty, which they stilled deference, a second deputation was dispatched to Versailles. These gentlemen began their harangue in this manner: *Your Majesty*

Majesty has commanded, and your parliament has obeyed.

A courtier said, that there they ought to have stopped, all the remainder of their long speech being quite useless and superfluous.

The King was pleased, in the evening, to mention this affair to me; and his having got the better of the parliament, made him much gayer than usual; but this extraordinary cheerfulness raised in me some misgivings: To me, a body whose temporary submission excited in its master such a lively joy, appeared dangerous.

F I N I S.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

Marchion. of Pompadour.

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

Wherein are Displayed

The Motives of the Wars, Treaties of Peace,
Embassies, and Negotiations, in the several
Courts of Europe:

The Cabals and Intrigues of Courtiers; the Charac-
ters of Generals, and Ministers of State, with the
Causes of their Rise and Fall; and, in general, the
most remarkable Occurrences at the Court of
France, during the last twenty Years of the Reign
of Lewis XV.

Translated from the French.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

Marchioness of P O M P A D O U R.

LEWIS XV. as I have said in another place, visited me habitually. He could not dispense with my company, which was become absolutely necessary to him : but this inclination had not entirely removed a taste for transitory amours. He yielded to them by constitution ; but never reflected on them without repentance. After an adventure of gallantry, he was more constant than ever. Remorse brought him back to himself and to me. I may venture to say, that I enjoyed his infidelity ; and had he been entirely divested of it, he would have given way to some other passion, that would have separated him from me. I was under apprehensions for some time that his mind would take a warlike turn : I desired Maurice count Saxe, who regularly paid his court to him, after the campaigns in Flanders, not to dwell so much upon battles and sieges : but Lewis assured me, as I have already mentioned, that he had sacrificed this inclination to the welfare of France.

The king had for some time devoted himself to politics ; but this study no way interfered with his amusements. He applied himself to it through that beneficent disposition, which naturally prompts him to solace his people. He was desirous of being possessed of the present state of Europe : M. De Belleisle furnished him with it. The king shewed it to me :
B it



it was a system of political-topography. The Marshal entered into a minute detail upon the power of each government. He took a review of all Europe, and stipulated the state of the forces of the different people.

M. de Noailles, who saw this state of Europe, said, " That there was too much geometry in it ;
 " that the republic of Christendom was subject to
 " so many revolutions, which derived their origin
 " from so many secondary causes, wherewith poli-
 " tics had no kind of connexion, that cabinets, fre-
 " quently obtained honour from what was the mere
 " effect of fortune. France, said he to me, exerted
 " her influence to acquire Lorrain : Cardinal
 " Richelieu could not succeed in the business, and
 " Mazarin miscarried ; accident threw it into the
 " hands of France under the administration of car-
 " dinal de Fleuri.

" Europe was engaged for near two hundred years
 " in negociation and war to prevent the crown of
 " Spain devolving to any branch of the house of
 " Bourbon. The will of a weak and languishing
 " prince bequeathed it entirely to France, at a time
 " that Lewis XIV. did not even think of being in-
 " cluded in the treaty of partition.

" The English never could have imagined mak-
 " ing a conquest of Gibraltar, which gave them an
 " ascendancy in the ocean, and made them masters
 " of the Mediterranean ; when the same accident
 " that gave Spain to the house of Bourbon, produc-
 " ed them the acquisition of that important fortress,
 " which they have ever since retained, though the
 " reasons that induced them to gain possession of it
 " no longer subsist," &c.

" If we were to recur to the origin of great revo-
 " lutions, we should find that fortune governed the
 " world, and that policy, which would reduce all
 " events to rule, prevails too much in the cabinet

" of

“ of princes. He added, that these enumerations of
 “ the power of the states of Europe are useless, as
 “ it is not strength that regulates the fate of
 “ governments, but a certain combination of acci-
 “ dents, in opposition to which neither negotiati-
 “ ons nor armies can prevail.”

I do not at present recollect the precise terms in which this memorial of M. de Belleisle was conceived; I only remember that he concluded with these words: France cannot be hurt by all the
 “ great states of Europe: Prussia only is to be
 “ feared, and England dreaded.”

Though the king had for some time been fond of talking of state affairs, he was so polite as to dwell but little upon them in my company. Notwithstanding what I have said of his gravity, there is no man in France so agreeable at a *tête-a-tête*, as Lewis XV. He is some days so happy and vivacious, as even to inspire mirth and joy.

I have frequently mentioned his goodness; I shall now give a little anecdote, which will corroborate what I have said upon that head. One night, after having been pretty late with me in my apartments, he told me he should not dine with me the next day (as he frequently used to do) having resolved to go to Marli, where he should remain till towards the evening. My brother Marigni paid me a morning visit that day, and as I was quite alone, I desired him to stay and dine with me. We conversed together for some time, after which he went to take a turn in Versailles gardens, till it was the hour to go to dinner.

The king altered his mind and did not go a riding. Instead of going to Marli, he came to dine with me. He observed the table laid with two covers, and as he had the day before acquainted me with his intended journey, he testified his surprise, asking me for whom I had intended the second co-

ver. "Sire, I replied, my brother came to see me this morning, and as I was alone, I invited him to dine with me; but as your majesty does me that honour yourself, I shall send to acquaint him that he cannot be a guest." No, replied the king, *your brother is one of the family; instead of removing the cover that was laid for him, only lay another, and we will all three dine together.* My brother returned, and the king behaved to him with all possible politeness. This is not an important anecdote, but it displays this prince's regard, even in the most minute affairs.

M. Rouillé furnished the king every day with fresh estimates, by which it appeared that the marine was re-established. This minister publicly said in 1751 that he had seventy ships of the line, and thirty frigates; but he said that he had more than there really were. Ministers in general, increase their plan; they all most constantly confound the establishments already made, with those that still remain to be made, and these latter frequently never take place.

A man of understanding said to me at that time, that if France had a fleet of seventy men of war or frigates, ready to put to sea, the great object of the French marine would be accomplished. This same person averred, that we wanted no more to face the English, who have not a greater number of ships fit for engagement; for, added he, we must not confound the coasting cruizers, and those which are destined for convoys; they are not comprised among the number of ships of the line.

The English ambassador was ordered to keep a watchful eye upon M. Rouillé and all his operations, in order to acquaint his court theewith. He no longer asked the administration, as was customary with him, what we intended to do with so many ships, because he had frequently had for answer, that

that the court of France was not obliged to give Great-Britain an account of what she did.

The king made a promotion of sea officers; commodores were appointed, captains and old lieutenants were promoted, and there was so much bustle made about the state of the marine, that the court of London began to take umbrage at it.

A foreign ambassador told me one day upon this occasion, that he discerned a great error in the French government, that is to say, "that we make a shew of ourselves to all Europe and our enemies. He added, there are no secrets of state at Versailles; all Christendom is informed of the designs of France, long before she is in a condition to execute them, whereby they are frustrated."

An affair that no way related to France, excited the attention of the king for a short time. The Genoese (an unsteady people, and who have never been in a state of tranquillity since the foundation of their republic) had carried on a war for a long time against the Corsicans, whom they stiled rebels, whilst the Corsicans gave them the appellation of tyrants. There had been several engagements between them, which served only to protract the war, as peace must ever be the result of a reconciliation of sentiments. Hatred and antipathy had barred all the avenues to a mediation. Their aversion to each other surpassed their reciprocal dread. If religion itself had fomented a division, it could not have been more animated.

Marshal Belleisle, speaking to me of this war, often told me that the Genoese would never be rulers over the Corsicans; for which he assigned this reason; "When the principal state combats with its subjects, the first battle must decide the quarrel, otherwise it will remain for a long time undetermined. Rebels, who by sieges and battles, poise the sovereign authority, no longer bear the name of subjects, but

“ adopt that of enemies ; for the force of arms,
 “ which destroys all privilege, restores the level “

Such people as are in subjection to kings, would no longer be so, if they were capable of throwing off their submission ; for subordination was not agreed upon by convention, but compelled by violence or open force. So that a people who throw off the yoke, are not rebels any farther than their ill conduct in the revolution, and their ignorance to procure the means of success, give them this title.

The Genoese, after fruitless endeavours to reduce the Corsicans, took a wrong step in addressing themselves to foreign powers ; France, of whom they had asked succours, furnished them with some troops and a commander. The Venetian ambassador, who was then at Paris, said upon this occasion ; “ That the
 “ Genoese, who were reckoned to be people of great
 “ memory, had lost their recollection with regard to
 “ France, as they forgot that she bombarded Genoa
 “ in the time of Lewis XIV. and that the republic
 “ narrowly escaped from destruction through her, in
 “ the reign of Lewis XV.”

The Genoese officers, whom the senate had appointed and sent to that island for the defence of their rights, were greater foes to the republic than they were to the Corsicans, seeking disputes with the French mediators, under pretence that they excited those islanders to hold them in contempt. If the allegation had been just, they should have connived at it, and pursued, without interruption, the restoration of peace. But envy, that vice so natural to Italians, and particularly the Genoese, occasioned this dissention. They saw with jealous eyes, foreigners interfering in a peace, all the honour of which they were desirous of keeping to themselves. The republic, equally jealous of their own officers, as these were of the French, took another ill-judged measure, by making application to the court of Versailles,

saillies, to know how they should act against themselves, and what satisfaction the king required. Any other nation would rather have given up their interest with respect to Corsica, which even France could not bring back to its duty, than to have thus humbled themselves, but the republic of Genoa have been long accustomed to meanness and submission.

“ The Genoese, said the King, deserve to be
“ punished, by my interfering no longer with their
“ affairs : but they have paved the way for my son
“ Don Philip into Italy, and I owe them some ac-
“ knowledgment — this predominates in my heart
“ over the resentment which their conduct deserves.”

Lewis XV. who had appointed M. de Chauvelin plenipotentiary in the island of Corsica, to terminate matters in an amicable manner, gave him fresh instructions to hasten his negotiation, and new orders were dispatched to the marquis of Curfai, who commanded the French troops.

These two mediators settled the place for holding a congress, and peace was in appearance concluded. All formalities were observed : Harangues were made at the opening of the assemblies, and flowers of rhetoric were scattered amongst an ignorant and barbarous people. The Corsicans stretched their large ears to these studied orations, but did not understand a syllable. They replied with acclamations, and the orators imagined they had seduced them by their eloquence.

After these speeches, the treaty, or regulations between the Republic and the Corsicans, was brought upon the carpet. Each party thereby retained prerogatives which made them independent of each other ; that is to say, the subjects of this republic were treating for their liberty. The Corsicans terminated by negotiation, what they could not accomplish by arms.

When the articles of the treaty were sent to Versailles, Marshal Belleisle publickly said, “ That the

“ Republic had submitted too much : that they
“ should have granted an amnesty to the rebels, and
“ not have treated with them : that subjects who
“ have thrown off the yoke, in returning to their
“ duty, should obtain nothing but pardon. He
“ added, that the Corsicans should either be punished
“ as guilty of treason, or else abandoned as rebels ;
“ for subjects who are sufficiently powerful to ob-
“ lige the sovereign to treat with them, are not
“ faithful enough to submit long to obedience.”

These reflections appeared to be the more justly founded, as all these negotiations soon became useless, and a war was present'y after kindled.

Be this as it may, the Genoese were for the present left here, the attention of every one being taken up with news from Asia, which greatly flattered the king's expectations. We were informed from India, that the Nabob had confidence enough in France, to place his political interest in the hands of a Frenchman, named Dupleix ; and that the nation of the Marats, who were subject to the Nabob, had appointed him their commander in chief.

It is said that Lewis XIV. who was animated with every kind of glory, was sensibly struck with the information given him by an ambassador from the king of Siam, who was delegated to acquaint him that his name was held in great veneration in those states. He testified more public joy, and was more flattered with this honour, than if he had obtained an important conquest.

The peace concluded with the Nabob, and the confidence which this prince reposed in France, were objects of far greater consequence. They increased the riches of the state, whereas the embassy from Siam had no other effect than flattering the monarch's vanity.

Dupleix became at once plenipotentiary and generalissimo ; he stipulated the terms of the treaty of peace,

peace, and received the command. These two posts were preceded by an important negotiation, without which he could never have obtained them; he fixed the unsteady disposition of the Marats. This nation had been hitherto divided into various factions, who, in weakening themselves, prevented France deriving any advantage from them. This foreigner upbraided them with their impolitic conduct, and taught them to pursue connected views, and an uniform system.

This Dupleix was not, however, any great genius: but there are people who perform great things with very little capacity. We have since seen him at Paris fallen from the pinnacle of his fame, and at length give up his breath with the reputation of a man, who, so far from having been capable of governing India, had not talents sufficient to regulate his own household affairs.

He had a great law suit with the India company. This quarrel is equally remarkable by the nature of the demand, as by that of the refusal. The Nabob's general declared, that the directors were indebted to him several millions, and the directors set forth that they owed him nothing. There is, in general, ingratitude on the one side, and but little acknowledgment on the other. The memoria's that were published upon this occasion, produced at least this advantage, they opened the eyes of the government with respect to many things relative to India, which they would never have been acquainted with, had not these publications taken place.

I made business, pleasures, and amusements, by turns succeed at Versailles, which still prevented the king's serious reflections. Lewis XV. existed, I may say, by a constitution which I communicated to him, and this factitious temperament hindered his own prevailing. I believe he would have been at length overcome without that art which I employed to re-

press nature. Notwithstanding this precaution, there were moments in which he gave himself up to melancholy. It was then necessary to invent new pleasures, in order to excite fresh sensations. As soon as I perceived these produced no effect, I redoubled my attention to substitute others that might be more prevalent.

Religion was the greatest obstacle I had to surmount, for the king was very devout. He prayed regularly, and went every day to mass, but did not perform his Easter-devotions. This estrangement from the sacraments arose rather from an excess of delicacy, than a contempt for the communion. His transitory amours separated him from the sacrament, which he feared to profane. The jesuit who enjoyed the title of his confessor, had made various attempts to conquer his delicacy upon this head. His power would have been more extensive, as his penitence would have been the more at his devotion; but Lewis XV. never submitted.

I was judged a proper instrument to hint something to the monarch upon this subject; but it was necessary that I should begin by convincing myself, in order to persuade the King. This was thought an easy matter; people of the first rank, and of considerable dignity in the church, but who shall not be named here, fearing that the Roman catholic religion might appear to lose ground to the enemies of the state, undertook this great work.

I was not much versed in this kind of matters; for the women of Paris have no more religion than what is just necessary to prevent their having none at all.

These able theologists settled it as a principle,
 “ That scandal in a king was the greatest evil he
 “ could be guilty of: that he is the mirror, where
 “ every one looks to see himself: that his example
 “ carries with it that of the state: that from the

“ time

“ time the King did not commune, there were upwards of a million of subjects in France, who no longer partook of the sacraments: that the desertion from the holy table was become general,” &c. &c.

Then speaking of constitutions, they added, “ That God had given power to his ministers to absolve past sins; that repentance effaced in heaven crimes committed upon earth: that the Divinity, in forming man, had been obliged to give way to his weaknesses: that we should always fulfil our christian obligations, notwithstanding the continual temptations with which the heart of man is surrounded,” &c. &c.

In a word, I saw through these maxims of the fathers of the church, that the King, in order to be a good catholic, should be regularly guilty of profanation of the sacrament once a year.

I refused taking upon myself this moral commission. I had a glimpse of those consequences which might have affected myself. This prince’s approaching the communion table, must necessarily have caused a revolution in him. I was under less apprehension for the King’s religion, than the intrigues of churchmen. The confessor was particularly to be dreaded. He is always powerful, when the monarch is frequently at his feet.

Neither did I advise the King to absent himself from the holy table. I left things just as they were.

Peace, which had restored political tranquillity, of itself produced fresh divisions in the state. Churchmen, the clergy, and the parliament, who in time of war, unite themselves to the administration, to participate of public misfortunes, in their turn create them, when battles and sieges are passed: so that by a fatality, which is, perhaps, derived from the constitution itself, France must always be armed to avoid domestic quarrels; or continually wage war

with

with herself, to prevent that of the enemy. I have heard very able politicians say, that this arises from the government's not being sufficiently powerful to suppress dissensions abroad, nor sufficiently absolute to destroy dissensions at home : a mixed state that will one day make it a prey to its enemies, or a victim to its subjects.

A trifling affair gave rise to a great misunderstanding between the court and the parliament, which was the distribution of the alms collected for the mendicants. The directors of the hospital of Paris had never yet been blamed by either the court or the city, because the war had engaged the attention of the government ; but peace being restored, which gave them leisure to inspect into the minutest affairs, they at length took this into consideration.

The archbishop of Paris claimed this jurisdiction by right ; the King was of the same opinion ; but the parliament judged differently, and henceforward representations and depositions took place. A Prince of the blood royal said upon this occasion, *The parliament of Paris must have very little to do, when they quarrel with the King about beggars.*

Lewis XV. issued an arret in favour of the archbishop ; it was to be registered, and now dissension broke out. The parliament went to Versailles and came back—they met, they adjourned ; but the King shewed himself absolute. He wrote in these terms to the chambers assembled. “ If I have
“ thought proper to allow you to make remon-
“ strances to me upon the edicts and declarations
“ which I send you to be registered, I never gave
“ you the power to annul or alter them, under pre-
“ tence of modification. It is my will that my de-
“ claration concerning the hospital be registered
“ purely and simple. I shall see that my parliament
“ obey my orders.”

This

This was speaking like a master: the King was animated at certain moments to support all his rights; but the goodness of his heart, his love of peace, and the tranquillity of the state, and perhaps more than all, an undetermined character, discouraged by difficulties and opposition, made him yield.

I often complained to him of this disposition, which induced him to grant what he had at first refused. "What would you have me do, madam?" he said to me with that complaisance and sweetness which are so natural to him. "I know I should harden myself against certain bodies, who want to raise their authority upon a level with my throne. But I sacrifice my resentment to the general tranquillity. I tremble to think of the misfortunes, that the people suffered under the reign of my great grandfather, by the quarrels which arose between the court and the parliament. These quarrels renewed civil wars, which immersed France in the deepest desolation. I would rather be complaisant than ostentatious, as the consequences of the latter might be fatal to my subjects."

The majority of the members of the council were not of this way of thinking; one of the most penetrating said, that under a firm and absolute government, the laws were restored to their vigour, and abuses reformed; whereas indulgence and relaxation were the effects of a weak and irresolute administration. I acknowledge that I differ much in opinion from this last, and I could have wished that the King had possessed a little more resolution. The affair relating to the hospital terminated, like most of those of the parliament, that is to say, by modifications.

The King of his own accord, and without being solicited, appointed the count de St Florentin and M. Rouillé ministers of state: They were each of them secretaries of state. A courtier at that time said,

said, that the King had done a great deal in appointing them his secretaries, and that he had done too much in creating them ministers. It is certain that these two men had done nothing to entitle them to that rank. M. Rouillé in particular, was far from being bright, having no other recommendation than his assiduity and application, which most constantly destroy every thing, when they are not accompanied with genius.

It was said at Paris that I induced the King to make this nomination. The truth is, that I no way interfered in it: Nay, it was added, that M. de St. Florentin had sold himself to me, and that I paid him for the letters de cachet which I had occasion for to drive such persons from Paris as displeased me. Those who spoke in this manner were ignorant that the great letters de cachet were not issued but in the name and by the consent of the King. The sovereign commands and the minister obeys.

I had very little acquaintance with this secretary of state; he paid his court to me like the other ministers: but he seldom spoke to me about private affairs. I found him at court, the King employed him, and this sufficed me.

M. Rouillé had been recommended to me. I mentioned him to the King. I recommended him to this Prince, not as a great minister, but as an honest man.

M. de Puisieux, secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, begged leave to retire. This office was difficult to manage: several persons had refused it. Those who had before filled this employment, had sown disorder in this department, and the last troubles of Europe had compleated its confusion. France was not in a situation to hope that the last treaty of peace could long subsist, and in time of war there was more business in this department than in all the others. One minister is scarce
sufficient

sufficient when every thing is in order, but when every thing is in confusion, before sieges and battles take place, it is impossible for him to go on.

I very seldom saw M. de Puisieux. Those who were personally acquainted with his minister, have told me that he had knowledge and understanding; but that he was deficient in that superiority of genius which characterizes a statesman. He had gone through the negotiations for which he was appointed with such middling talents, as never confer any future reputation. He may be ranked with these common ministers, who after having completed their career in this world, never enter upon any in history.

After the retreat of M. de Puisieux the King said to me: "*Well, madam, to whom shall we give the department of foreign affairs?*" And without giving me time to reply, he added: "*This office requires an able minister, a man of assiduity and integrity. Do you know of such a one in my kingdom?*"

"Sire, I replied, what you require is pretty difficult to be found; but some of your subjects may possess all these qualities; and amongst this number, I may venture to presume, that the marquis de St. Contest, your ambassador at the Hague, deserves a distinguished rank." *I am of your opinion*, the King immediately said; *M. Contest has already done me such services, as have entitled him to this place: I will give it to him*; and the ambassador immediately left the Hague, to come and take upon him this office.

I shall in this place mention an establishment which I planned, and to which the King gave his assistance, in order to put it in execution: This will appear but a trifling affair to those who estimate establishments in proportion as they are striking. I prevailed upon Lewis XV to change the object of the expence made for public rejoicings, by applying it to the increase of the human species, which luxury
and

and debauchery constantly diminish in France. His Majesty gave orders in consequence, that 600,000 livres, which were to be expended for fire-works, on account of the birth of the duke of Burgundy, should be divided into portions amongst a certain number of young women, to be married in the capital. It was then intended that the same orders should be sent into the provinces. The population of Paris is but the sixteenth part of that of the whole monarchy; so that, if all the other parts of France had followed the same example set them by the metropolis, population would have been considerably increased in France.

M. de Belleisle, who made all the calculations, averred that these marriages would furnish near 20,000 citizens annually to the monarchy: thus do small things promote great ones, and one single additional turn in the finances contributes to aggrandize a state. No one suspected that I had framed this establishment, any more than several others which I created for the advantage of France, and from which many persons who had no hand in them, derived honour to themselves; whilst I was reproached with others that were detrimental to the government, and of which I was entirely ignorant.

The sweets of peace began to be relished, when the first sparks of the torch of war were perceived from a distance. The duke of Mirepoix complained to the court of London of some grievances with which the French reproached the English, and the English ambassador at Paris remonstrated against the conduct of the French with respect to the English. They wanted to make in raftions upon the treaty of peace, but they did not know where to begin. The time for fighting was not yet come; battles by sea and land, that were to create great revolutions, were anticipated by preparations on both sides.

The

The birth of the duke of Burgundy came in time to divert the occupations of the court. The disorder in the administration, the difficulty of finding able ministers, the confusion in the state of the finances, the misery of the people, the obstinacy of the clergy, the perverseness of the parliament, and the behaviour of the English, who threatened war in time of peace; these all united to interrupt the King's tranquillity. He, however, yielded, for some time to the pleasure of seeing his crown secured to his house. Kings are more sensible of this kind of joy than is imagined. They fancy, that in their descendants they see their reign perpetuated; it seems to them as if they did not die, if when they go to the grave, they have an heir in whose hands they can place the sceptre. The rejoicings of the people, which the King was made acquainted with, increased his felicity. The Parisians, who make a point of loving their sovereign, surpassed themselves in their demonstrations of joy.

There were great festivals at court. All the foreign ministers strove to be first in complimenting Lewis XV. who congratulated himself upon this birth. I never saw him so happy. This was the only period of his life, whilst I remained at Versailles, that I found him completely joyful: I also felt at this instant a sensible pleasure, to see the King so happy. His usual gaiety was much increased, and of longer duration. Our interviews were more tender, and our conversation more lively and animated.

This epocha made me reflect upon the few resources which the human heart has within itself to be happy. Favourable combinations of nature or fortune are necessary to draw it from that state of languor, in which it is almost constantly immersed: and this fatal law must surely be general, when even kings are not exempt from it. But there is a still greater misfortune attendant on humanity, which

is,



is, that pleasure is almost constantly counterbalanced by pain. One might say, that in the human heart there are two equal measures of joy and misery, and in proportion as the one is emptied the other is filled.

State affairs, and advices from foreign courts, soon overcast the court with serious looks, and the King lost his gaiety, and became more melancholy than ever.

Every time there was any important post to fill, or any considerable employment to be given away, the courtiers greatly increased their complaisance towards me. I had a constant train of solicitors. The Marquis de St. Contest having entered upon the post of secretary of state for foreign affairs, the embassy in Holland was vacant. M. de Bonac was mentioned to me in a favourable manner. I had but very little knowledge of him; I acquainted myself with his talents for negociation, and in consequence of the picture that was drawn to me of him, I interested myself in his favour. I spoke of him to the King, who appointed him his ambassador to the States General. As many courtiers interceded for the place, I made myself as many enemies as were refused it. The King's service and that of the state determined me in favour of M. de Bonac, who, it was said, had the necessary qualifications to do honour to his country.

The Prince of Soubise said, that of all the embassies in Europe, that of the Seven Provinces was the most difficult, as, in all the other courts, negotiations are carried on with princes of a generous turn of mind, who often lose sight of their own advantages; whereas in Holland, the minister treats with merchants, who have their interest constantly in view. He added, that Holland is so situated, that in the wars between France and England, it may derive advantages from the one, and contribute to the

the other. Wherefore those who treat with the Dutch should have a great share of address, to make them declare when their succours are necessary; and they should have great abilities to keep them in an exact neutrality, when their arms may be prejudicial, &c.

I do not know whether M. de Bonac possessed all these qualities; for every thing is disguised at court, and people are not known till such time as they have been tried, and it is then too late to form a judgment that can be advantageous. M. de Bonac was an officer; this circumstance alone made me for some time hesitate upon the choice I proposed making. I never had any great faith in negociations carried on by military men. They are a kind of people that seldom have a turn of mind, and that pliant disposition necessary to succeed at foreign courts: but this is the age of warlike ministers. Lewis XV. has employed no others during his whole reign: and this, perhaps, is one of the reasons, why our affairs at foreign courts have not succeeded so well as we might have expected.

Those churchmen who make vows of poverty, but who are more covetous of riches than laymen, were also very assiduous in paying their court to me. The number of these that attended me, increased in proportion as abbeys and bishopricks became vacant.

There were many candidates for the abbey of Auchin, but the King disposed of it in favour of Cardinal York, brother to the Pretender, who by enjoying this benefice, with the possession of several others, was richer than the real possessor of the duchy of York. This opulence, which in England the King's sons and brothers do not enjoy, made a courtier say upon this occasion, that it was very lucky for Cardinal York, that the house of Stuart had been

been dispossessed of the throne of Great-Britain ; for without this accident, he would have been only a poor English citizen, instead of a rich Roman prince.

People, however, complained of the King's not having given this benefice to a Frenchman, who would have expended the revenue of it in the kingdom, instead of its being carried into Italy, which was now the case by this nomination. But those who reason in this manner did not know that kings who waged war against reigning families, gave alms to those families whose reign was expired. Moreover France had obligations to this unfortunate house. In the wars which France carried on, the Pretender was brought upon the carpet, and sent off, in the same manner as an actor is upon the stage.

In politics, those who perform a part must be paid ; and I believe I have said in another place, that France never seriously thought of placing the Pretender on the throne of England.

M. de Machault, keeper of the seals and comptroller general, who laboured to re-establish the finances, succeeded therein but slowly. The King, who had an estimate of the national debts laid before him every month, found them always in the same situation. The financiers engrossed all the money of the state, which made M. de Machault say to the King, *Sire, I see but one method of bringing the money back into the treasury, which is to tax hôtel des fermes, or office of the farms.*

This proposal of the minister agreed perfectly well with an anonymous memorial, which was dedicated to me at Versailles, and which I had read to the King: it was conceived in these terms. “ The actual riches
“ of the state consist of about eleven hundred milli-
“ ons of specie. This sum, in order to animate the
“ whole body politic, should every where circulate
“ geometrically. But this proportion is far from
“ being settled in France, where it may be demon-
“ stratively

“flratively proved, that two hundred individuals
 “possess half the coin of the kingdom. These in-
 “dividuals are the financiers: their cash is that of
 “the state: it contains the fortunes of all the
 “citizens. Riches are daily buried in their coffers
 “as in a gul. The crown, by yielding to a com-
 “pany the duties upon the entry of goods, never
 “intended to subscribe to the ruin of the state. It
 “granted the power of collecting those imposts to
 “clerks, who by their activity and industry ought
 “to enrich the state, and not impoverish it. This
 “was the institution of farms; and inasmuch as they
 “have swerved from this plan, they are become a
 “monopoly of the company. The King has a
 “right to reform abuses; and every contract that
 “includes a grievance is of itself void.

“It is not proposed to correct past errors, but to
 “remove present evils. If an attempt is never made,
 “success cannot be expected. In dangerous disor-
 “ders violent remedies are necessary. There is
 “but one method of restoring the course of general
 “circulation, which the monopoly of the company
 “has interrupted. This is the establishment of an
 “ardent chamber, wherein the financiers should
 “give an account of their management of the
 “farms, and which should enquire into the title
 “whereby they are in possession of such immense
 “riches, in order to transfer them for the benefit
 “of the crown, as soon as the grievance and the
 “monopoly shall be ascertained.

“To prevent the outcries of avarice, and the
 “sordid love of self, against this regulation, two
 “incontestable principles must previously be laid
 “down.

“1. That the great profits of royal companies,
 “when excessive, no longer bear that name, but
 “come under the denomination of monopolies,
 “being contrary to the intentions of the prince, who

“neither

“ neither could nor would divest himself of great advantages upon any consideration whatever.”

“ 2. That a King is always a minor, in regard to any grievance in the general finances : and that he is authorized by all the fundamental laws to annul a contract that is pernicious to the state and his people.

“ That to proceed legally against the financiers, the ardent chamber should nominate commissaries to examine the books of the farmers-general. After having made an abstract thereof, they should report the monopolies used to accumulate these great riches, of which the company is possessed.”

“ From thence they should have recourse to the annual subdivisions, in order to pursue the necessary clue, and ascertain the real state of their accounts.

“ This operation being compleated, all the farmers general should be summoned, one after another, before the tribunal of the ardent chamber, to give an account of the sum which they must have appropriated to themselves, according to the intelligence obtained.

“ They should be directed to restore it all, except six per cent. which should be granted them as interest for their advanced money.

“ In case of disobedience, they should be confined and kept in prison, until they had made entire restitution of the whole sum, without deducting any interest.

“ The chief clerks, such as directors, registers, comptrollers, &c. should be subpoenaed before the ardent chamber, and obliged to make restitution, in the same manner as the farmers-general.

“ None should be exempted, but such only as received nothing but wages of the company, &c. &c.

“ According

“ According to a calculation made hereupon,
 “ 300, 000, 000, will return into the royal treasury, without imposing any tax upon the people.
 “ The establishing of an ardent chamber to compel the farmers to produce their accounts, is not
 “ (according to this memorial) an infraction of the
 “ rights of the people, nor a breach of civil liberty. Fouquet, intendant-general of the finances,
 “ in the former reign, was by a private commission
 “ adjudged to be divested of those immense sums,
 “ which he had accumulated by monopolies,” &c.
 &c.

This memorial was not put in execution, any more than the greater part of those plans which have since appeared for the re-establishment of the finances. Much has been said in France of demolishing the farmers-general; but when this scheme is to be executed no one dare assist, because those people have a great deal of money, and every body stands in need of them. I one day asked Marshal Saxe, who was very intimate with La Poupeliniere, what engaging qualities this farmer-general possessed, that could so much attract the Marshal. *Madam*, said he, *he has one that to me is excellent; for when I have occasion for a hundred thousand livres, I find them in his coffer; whereas when I apply to the comptroller-general, he constantly tells me he has no money.*

A prince of the blood said, that these people were beneficial, for the very reason that they appeared pernicious: for that since they were appointed, it is known where the riches of the state lie, whereas before no one knew where they were deposited.

The farmers-general got information of the memorial drawn up against the company, and another was penned to refute it. But this consisted of nothing but mere words. It chiefly displayed the utility of the company, who could instantaneously furnish considerable

derable sums to the government in pressing exigencies: but the memorial took no notice that this money belonged to the state, and that the farmers are nothing more than agents to advance it, the money being raised upon the people.

M. de Belleisle, who read this answer, said to me, “ These people, among whom there are many persons of sense, are so prejudiced in favour of their interest, that they are always extravagant when they are upon the subject of the finances. There is a capital error in the contract of the farms, which is, that it puts too much money into the pockets of a few individuals.”

I have often at Versailles met with advocates who pleaded the cause of the farmers-general: but I never met with any judges that were favourable to them.

In the midst of domestic affairs, which occupied the administration and afflicted the King, a thousand different people eagerly endeavoured to present memorials to me for promoting arts, and increasing manufactures. I was unacquainted with the particulars upon which they turned; I desired the minister, who was sometimes busy with the King, to acquaint me with the advantages which the state derived from the prodigious number of manufactures established in France.

“ This, madam, (said this statesman) is a matter that would take great time to impart to you: it would be necessary to recur to the age of Lewis XIV. in which he made many alterations in France, and who was called Great, because he struck some great strokes.

“ This Prince, who possessed every kind of ambition, was not devoid of that of multiplying manufactures. Colbert his minister completely backed his designs; he passed his life in establishing trades as well as increasing arts; and as he had

“ had occasion for a great number of workmen to
“ accomplish his design, he sent for five hundred
“ thousand husbandmen from the country to pro-
“ mote the industry of cities. From that time such
“ lands as were in want of hands remained unculti-
“ vated. This minister did not consider, that to
“ increase the soil he should multiply the matter.
“ This the King over-looked also. Lewis XIV.
“ was entirely taken up with the thirst of dominion,
“ and this passion favoured those of all his ministers,
“ who were desirous of sharing this ambition with
“ him.

“ The kingdom was filled with handicraftsmen;
“ great luxury, the necessary consequence, took
“ place, and from that time France, whose happy
“ climate should have made it superior, in point of rich-
“ es, to all the other states of Europe, was im-
“ proved.

“ Nevertheless, the minister, who has since
“ followed the plan of M. Colbert, has continued
“ multiplying the arts, at the expence of the pro-
“ duce of agriculture.

“ This policy is supported by a reason, which is,
“ that this industry lays all the states of Europe un-
“ der contribution; but France does not see that
“ she begins by taxing herself, in diminishing the
“ produce of her first substance: a disadvantage
“ that immediately affects the power of the state,
“ as it stops the progress of population.

M. de Belleisle was not of this opinion: he ima-
gined that industry could supply every thing, even
the deficiencies of production; for according to him
the riches of a state depend upon its circulation; and
he said that arts made money circulate better than
agriculture: but he was mistaken. Eminent oeco-
nomists have since demonstrated to me that the pro-
ductions of the earth create real riches, whereas
those formed by industry are only fictitious. Be this

as it may, I determined to protect arts, and in order to encourage manufactures, I furnished the necessary funds to bring some into esteem.

Though the King's habitual disposition to visit me, made all France consider this inclination as his determined taste; the women constantly preserved a secret desire of supplanting me in the heart of this Prince. Lewis XV. always met with some in ambush. He could not go up or down stairs in his way to his own apartment, without meeting a beauty. The women of Paris, who are seldom in love with any thing but the opera or the play-house became enamoured with Versailles. They visited this place pretty regularly.

The custom which Lewis XIV. established of being applied to in person, when any favour was to be asked at court, and which was almost abolished since the death of this Prince, now revived. Many fair suiters addressed themselves to Lewis XV. Their eyes petitioned more than their memorials. Lewis yielded to their solicitations, and often gave them what they asked. He acquainted me with all these accidental intrigues, and this confidence enabled me to support them. I should have considered my influence as in its wane, if he had concealed them from me. I have said in another place, that unable to fix the constitution of this Prince, I was compelled to give him up to his inclination. His infidelity did not diminish the ascendancy I had over him. I reigned at Versailles, in the midst of those very causes which ought to have subdued my empire. By a contradiction inherent in the human heart, his inconstancy made him constant to me. Remorse drove him fresh to my arms, which he only quitted to yield again to love and repentance.

What secured him to me, was, that of all the women, whom I knew he saw, there was not one, who was possessed of such qualities as were necessary

to wrest him from me. Most of them had beauty; but they were wanting in those mental engagements, without which the charms of the face are of no effect. They all wanted to rule at court, to dispense of the first employments in the state, to acquire the Prince's favour; and the only means they used to obtain those ends, was to prostitute themselves to him; which was an infallible method of not succeeding.

A new object drew the attention of the court. This was to secure the tranquillity of Italy—a boisterous country, where the first clouds of war always gather. All the treaties which have been concluded between sovereigns since Charlemain, could never give it stability, because it is the most happy continent upon earth, and the most feeble country in Europe.

Marshal Saxe said before he died, that if France could give a permanent peace to Italy, her population would become more flourishing. This general had demonstrated, that for two centuries, more Frenchmen had perished in Italy, than all the other wars had carried off in the rest of Europe.

I have since been told by another general, that the soldiers do not fall there by cannon. They perish there by heat and voluptuousness; enemies by far more dangerous than the indefatigable labours of the North.

Lewis XV. found an advantage in this plan of pacification. He thereby secured the Dukes of Savoy, ever ready to introduce German troops into Italy, and to make incursions themselves into Dauphiny, upon the first misunderstanding that takes place in Europe. Naples, Parma, and Placentia, under the government of princes of the house of Bourbon, would have enjoyed a lasting tranquillity, but this negotiation produced no effect.

Marshal Belleisle said to the King upon opening the conferences: "Sire, we may enter upon the plan of giving a lasting peace to Italy; but I apprise your Majesty, that the negotiation will not terminate but at the end of the world."

The Prince of Conti said upon this occasion, "That if a king of France were willing to prevent a war in Italy, the Italians would oppose him. This country, which with regard to money, is of itself poor, stands in need of foreign armies, whose military chests may supply their want of cash." The same thing has been said of Germany.

The King received a state of his naval force, according to which it consisted of fifty ships of the line and twenty frigates. I remember that a sensible man then said, that we had a navy, and wanted nothing but sailors—that is to say, we had half the necessary ingredients for forming a fleet. It was to procure this other half, which proved so useless some time after to France, that M. Rouillé was so assiduous.

The Count of Maurepas said, in his distant exile, "I know my successor—he will do so much, that he will at last destroy the French marine."

Those who decide at court the fate of the administrations of important departments, imagine that the province of the marine does not depend upon the minister who is at the head of it; that there are primary causes which counteract its progress. They are of opinion that France is formed to direct affairs by land, and England those that relate to the sea.

A statesman told me, nevertheless, one day at Versailles, that it was not impossible for France to have a marine; but to do this the system of the state must be changed, and the monarchy entirely subverted.

The

The minister assured Lewis XV. that besides this fleet, there was another upon the stocks, ready to be launched and put to sea.

The people, who ought always to be imposed upon by preparations, were satisfied with what was doing in the marine; but politicians and those who calculated the resources of England were dissatisfied.

At the time that we were endeavouring at the means of navigation, a projector presented a scheme to the King, for rendering France navigable. The object was the junction of two seas, by the means of two rivers. This man at first applied to me, and I sent him to M. Belleisle, who thought this project of great utility to the state. But several politicians were of a different opinion. They said that this junction would lessen the navigation, which should on the contrary be increased. The English were quoted, who might easily shorten the course of their sea voyages, and who endeavoured to prolong them. But what may be judicious in this respect for Great Britain, might be very impolitic for France.

I mention these particular transactions, because they fell immediately under my notice, and the King did me the honour to consult me upon them. I shall pass over in silence such schemes as were offered to the administration during my residence at court, and which did not take place.

When the King acquainted me with the death of the duke of Orleans, who died the fourth of July 1752, he seemed greatly affected at it. Sudden deaths made a great impression upon Lewis XV. Philip of Orleans finished his career at that age when most men begin theirs. This prince was a striking example of the contrast there often is in the characters of a father and a son.

This prince had nothing of the Regent's disposition. He had passed his time in praying and bestowing alms. Each day of his life was distinguished by

some christian act. Brought up in the center of pleasures, he shunned them at an age when the passions strongly plead for gratification, and when it is very difficult to resist their intreaties.

The curate of St. Sulpice said, that if he had been Pope, he would have canonized the Duke of Orleans, had he possessed no other virtue than having resisted the example of the royal palace. We well knew that the Regent's house was not the model for christian virtues. The Cardinal du Bois, who ridiculed men, politics and religion, made it the residence of vice and debauchery.

But the Duke of Orleans, who is the subject of our present consideration, possessed none but those virtues which do honour in heaven, and not those which characterize great princes upon earth. His house which he had divested of all regal magnificence, resembled a convent, of which he was the superior. He supported by charity an infinite number of people, who having no other care than that of receiving it, lived in idleness and effeminacy. His bigotry had made him retire from public affairs, and induced him to let the state take care of itself, at a time that it stood in the most need of assistance.

It is well known that the Princes of the blood who have a watchful eye over the government, keep the ministers in awe, and prevent their being guilty of malversation. Such is the fate of the French monarchy, that the great in France either give themselves up to debauchery, or turn hermits.

The death of Madame Henriette, which succeeded that of the Duke of Orleans, filled the court with mourning, and the King's heart with sorrow. This Princess was endued with those qualities which endear the great: naturally gentle and affable, she was beloved by all that approached her. A good heart and a compassionate sympathetic soul, formed her general character; the Parisians did not sufficiently lament

lament her loss ; they have no affection but for their Kings ; they have none remaining for the royal family.

A foreigner, who was acquainted with the genius of our nation, said to me, " If France were deprived of the Dauphin, before he mounted the throne, no one would regret his loss ; but that if he died six months after having wore the crown, all the world would weep for him. He added, that it was not the loss of the person, but the name of King that was regretted in France."

By the death of Madame Henriette, I discovered in Lewis XV. the qualities of a good father. Tears streamed from his eyes, and his melancholy surpassed his usual hypochondriac disposition. I exerted all my abilities to assuage his grief : but he paid all the rights that nature could extort, before they took effect.

Literature once more disturbed the King and the court. The council was informed that a large work was printing at Paris, under the title of the Encyclopedia. This was a rhapsody compiled from all the dictionaries extant, to which was added, by the compilers, reflections of a suspicious tendency on religion and politics. This heap of reasoning conveyed no instruction how to think, but only taught how to doubt. A man of letters said to me at that time, the Encyclopedia could only increase the number of ignoramus's, and warp the minds of men of learning.

Such writings as tended to support materialism, made an impression at court, and this production was ranked in this predicament. The King commanded the two first volumes of this production to be suppressed. The same arret which prohibited them, condemned the publishers of them to pay a considerable fine,

This suppression gave birth to an anonymous memorial upon this subject, which appeared to me very sensible, and which was conceived in these terms.

“ The government has established a tribunal to
 “ examine the productions of the mind. It consists
 “ of a minister and twenty-four royal censors, whose
 “ sole employment is to revise manuscripts destined
 “ for the press.

“ A book that is submitted to the examination of
 “ this tribunal, is under the protection of the go-
 “ vernment. The author has done all that the laws
 “ required of him. He is not answerable for the
 “ effects that the publication may produce. This
 “ literary minister should be its voucher, and liable
 “ to such penalties as the author would incur, if
 “ he had printed it in a clandestine manner. It ne-
 “ vertheless, daily happens, that a book meets with
 “ the approbation of this tribunal, and is often cen-
 “ sured by the government. The writer is prose-
 “ cuted—he is punished in such a manner, as if it
 “ had been concealed from this jurisdiction. The
 “ parliament takes cognizance of it, the book is
 “ burnt, and the author sent to the Bastille. What
 “ could be done more, if he had acted in defiance
 “ of the ordonnances made upon this subject ?

“ There is an error in literary jurisdiction, which
 “ will always occasion grievances and divisions in
 “ the republic of letters. The minister who pre-
 “ sides at this tribunal, has neither the capacity
 “ nor leisure to peruse all the MSS. that are pre-
 “ sented for the press : they are put into the hands
 “ of censors, who have neither more time nor
 “ more genius than himself.

“ They are frequently upon abstracted subjects,
 “ and above the capacity of both—then the censors
 “ read them without comprehending them, and
 “ sign them without understanding them. Their
 “ approbation being thus obtained, the work is ac-
 “ cordingly

“ cordingly printed, the book appears, and the pro-
“ secution begins just where it should end.

“ The inconvenience that resulted from it would
“ be of no great importance, if the sentence pro-
“ nounced against the author put an end to the
“ dispute ; but it almost constantly happens, that
“ the public interest themselves in the contest.
“ The erroneous maxims it contains are credited ;
“ the more they are condemned, the more the
“ book comes into vogue. Its suppression is of
“ no effect, the editions increase in proportion as
“ they are prohibited : for it is only necessary to
“ censure a book in order to raise its reputation.
“ Many works that would have been despised had
“ they passed unnoticed, have acquired importance
“ from the government’s condemning them.

“ Hence those various divisions that have im-
“ mersed the state into greater misfortunes than
“ have been produced by civil wars.

“ Instead of chastising the author that has written
“ a dangerous book, the minister who allowed it
“ to be printed, should be punished. The first sub-
“ mitted his performance to the established police
“ for preventing the publication of dangerous works,
“ and the other published it. The first only in-
“ jured himself, the other injured the state,” &c. &c.

The King had this memorial examined, the rea-
soning it contained was thought to be just ; but it
only met with approbation, like an infinite number
of others upon the different branches of the admin-
istration, the utility of which is acknowledged, but
they are, notwithstanding never executed.

I have observed during my residence at Versailles,
that the schemes which succeed are not those that
are the most advantageous, but those which are the
best recommended.

I have since learned from a man of great discern-
ment, that “ so much rigour on the part of the
C 5 “ government.

“ government with respect to literary productions,
 “ would be attended with many inconveniencies ;
 “ that printing in France is become a very exten-
 “ sive manufacture, which promotes an infinite
 “ number of others dependent on it, and which ex-
 “ cites industry ; that it comprehends a very im-
 “ portant branch of trade, the suppression whereof
 “ would greatly cramp circulation ; that by dimi-
 “ nishing this profession, many others must be abo-
 “ lished, that tend to form the library : that France
 “ would be thereby a great sufferer, and neighbour-
 “ ing states reap advantages from it ; that Holland
 “ in particular, covetous of all industrious vocations,
 “ would seize upon this.

“ He added, that Cardinal Fleury having sup-
 “ pressed the printing of romances in France, the
 “ United Provinces availed themselves of this pro-
 “ hibition, to encrease their workmen. The num-
 “ ber of their presses was greatly augmented, and
 “ the kingdom overflowed with these very prohi-
 “ bited romances ; so by this suppression, the state
 “ lost its industry without abolishing romances.”

Though the King constantly visited me, he con-
 versed with other women. But his visits to them
 were, as has been already said, merely casual.
 These women, who had neither taste nor delicacy,
 were gratified with those moments that he could
 bestow upon them, and thought themselves happy to
 pass a few hours by stealth with this Prince. They
 had no regular plan, except two or three, who
 formed the design of supplanting me, and seizing
 upon the King's favour. The pleasure of having
 the King for a lover sufficed them. This idea,
 which occupied all the powers of their soul, left no
 room for ambition ; so that they were not very
 dangerous rivals. I knew the King's temper ; en-
 joyment always disgusted him. The act of gratifi-
 cation

education was followed by contempt : this is what every woman muſt expect, who has no other attractions for men than mere perſonal poſſeſſion.

The diſputes of the clergy, which were renewed, notwithſtanding the aſſiduity of the court to ſuppreſs them, kept the ſtate in a conſtant ferment. All the prelates who diſturbed the court, owed their fortune to the King ; and this the more afflicted him. Lewis XV. has often ſaid to me, that of all vices ingratitude the moſt ſhocked him.

It happened in this diſpute, as it does in moſt others, that it was not confined to the firſt object. The original point in debate was, a ſum demanded of the clergy, to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate : the miniſter carried his views farther ; he reflected upon the diſorders occaſioned by this body to the finances of the ſtate ; a calculation was made that a very conſiderable ſum went out of the kingdom every age for purchaſing of bulls, and that this treaſure of the political government, which was ſent into Italy, never returned back to France : that Rome, to whom we paid large ſums, granted nothing in return but indulgences. The means of withdrawing from this ſpiritual dominion which ruined the temporal ſtate, came next under conſideration. But after every thing was thoroughly examined, ſupputed, and calculated, things were left juſt in the ſame ſituation as they were found.

The Chevalier de Belleiſle formerly told me,
 “ that the proceſs between the court of Rome and
 “ that of Verſailles had continued for ſeveral ages,
 “ and that it would not be terminated till ſuch time
 “ as a King of France aroſe equally enterpriſing
 “ with Henry VIII. of England. He added, that
 “ the miniſtry had hit upon the wrong object of
 “ power to deſtroy ; that we had wreſted the ſword
 “ of excommunication from Rome, but that we had
 “ left

“ left her in full power to fleece the state ; and that
 “ we had better let ourselves be excommunicated
 “ than reduced to poverty.”

The general body of the clergy incessantly engaged the attention of the court : one of their members disturbed a-new the King's repose, and troubled the state. The archbishop of Paris forbade the administration of the sacraments to a certain abbé, who was ill and desired it. The sick abbé was required to name his confessor ; and as he was known to be a Jansenist, he was asked to accept of the constitution, and the disputes it occasioned in the government. The abbé obstinately refused accepting of it, and the archbishop resolved that the sacraments should not be administered to him.

Lewis XV. was informed of this debate, the example whereof might be productive of a schism in the kingdom. I was witness to his grief ; his uneasiness arose from his affection. He loved his subjects, and he was chagrined to see that the disputes of schools should deprive them of the only remaining consolation upon their death-beds. The Princes of the house of Bourbon have always acted more reasonably in religious than in political matters.

The bull *Unigenitus* put Lewis XIV. to death ; some old courtiers have, at least, assured me, that father Le Tellier shortened his days by dint of talking to him of the constitution. The refusal of the sacraments was cognizable by the general police ; so that this schism in the spiritual government was attended with a double inconvenience, as it might produce one in the political state.

The parliament of Paris, who seize upon every occasion to reform abuses, and let none escape that may extend their prerogatives ; summoned the curate, who had been guilty of no other crime than that of obeying his bishop. A penalty was inflicted

on him which the prelate should have been mulcted, and he was forbid relapsing on pain of losing his temporalities. The chief point was to know whether the curate should obey the parliament or his bishop. The case would not have been difficult to determine, if the clergy had been appointed judges, or if the government had been to decide : but the question was who was the competent judge in this case ? If the church were permitted to decide the affair, this would be infringing upon temporal rights ; and by allowing the parliament this prerogative, spiritual privileges would thereby be usurped. There was a third inconvenience still greater, which was, that the King himself, according to the opinion of the clergy was incapable of appointing judges.

In this sort of disputes, a national council should be convened ; this council is never held, and the disorder always continues. The King commanded the parliament not to interfere in the matter, and the parliament determined that they ought to interfere therein. Lewis XV. had displayed sufficient resolution in the last misunderstanding about the administration of the hospital ; but this body always forget that they yielded, that they may remember to be steadfast. The King undertook to have the sacraments administered to the sick man ; but this method had its inconveniencies, for it was necessary to command priests, and they obeyed none but their bishops.

The parliament would have thought that they had given up their rights, if, upon this occasion, they had not opposed the will of their sovereign. They commanded by arret the curates, whom Lewis XV. only wanted to engage to fulfil their duty. Without this decree the affair would have been immediately stifled, whereas many other priests were hereby disposed to refuse the administration of the sacraments.

I have

I have often heard it said at Versailles; “ that
 “ the body of the parliament, by reason of their
 “ desire to reform abuses, are the source of a great
 “ number of abuses.” A prince of the blood was
 of opinion, that the parliament should be abolished,
 if it were only to prevent that spirit of contention
 and obstinacy which they disperse in the kingdom.
 But those who are esteemed sagacious judges of
 things, pretend that this same spirit of opposition to
 the will of the court, is the bulwark of the state.

A counsellor of the great chamber said one day in
 my hearing, to a courtier who was highly com-
 plaining of the reiterated remonstrances made to the
 King, *Perhaps, Sir, we may be mistaken in the*
form; but we cannot err with respect to the object,
as we constantly plead for the prerogatives of the na-
ti on, and the happiness of the people.

The president de Maupeau said to me one day,
 upon returning from an audience he had with the
 King, when he met with a very disagreeable recep-
 tion: “ You must allow, Madam, that there is
 “ a particular fatality annexed to our situation; we
 “ are always scolded without obtaining justice. Ne-
 “ vertheless, if things were thoroughly examined
 “ with care, it would appear that we have no in-
 “ terest in view by making continual representations
 “ to our Prince, and being compelled to say disa-
 “ greeable things to him: If we did not interest
 “ ourselves so much as we do for the good of the
 “ people, we must substitute flattery for truth, and
 “ should be benefited by the smiles of the court;
 “ whereas we now meet with nothing but refusals
 “ from it.” In another of these visits, when this
 same president did not meet with a more favourable
 reception, he added in speaking of the counsellors
 of state, “ It is surprising that men of understanding
 “ do not see through the uprightness of our inten-
 “ tions; and that prejudice, which we thought
 “ only

“ only actuated the populace, falls to the lot of
“ those who furround the throne.”

Be this as it may, these people displeased me, because they put the King into a bad humour, and every time they repaired to Versailles, to make representations to him, Lewis XV. was more serious than usual.

The affair of the bills of confession was attended with consequences. The members of parliament had hitherto spoke as orators; upon this occasion they spoke in the stile of preachers. Their remonstrance to the King resembled a sermon. The pope's doctrine, dogmas, and faith, were called in question. When a body of people quit their proper sphere, they expose themselves to raillery. A pleasant courtier said to the King,—“ Sire, we may now attend a homily in the great chamber; the members of
“ your parliament know how to make sermons.”

These representations made to Lewis XV. having been printed, every one was desirous of being possessed of them: but there was not a sufficient number for every body. The discourses of these new missionaries were sold at a dearer rate than Bourdaloue's sermons, and were more in vogue. I shall insert them here, lest this learned production should be lost to posterity.

SIRE,

“ Never did so important an affair lead your parliament to the foot of your throne. The religion
“ the state, the rights of your crown are equally
“ threatened. A fatal schism has burst forth, less
“ to be dreaded from the blaze of division it kindles amongst your subjects, and the shock it gives
“ to the fundamental laws of the monarchy, than
“ from the prejudice it does to religion.

“ Your

“ Your majesty, struck with the disorders occasioned by the disputes daily renewed on account of the bull *Unigenitus*, has at all times been sensible, and particularly in 1731, of the necessity of suppressing a division so dangerous, and so contrary to the common good of the state and of religion.

“ We shall make use of the same terms in which your majesty then expressed yourself, in declaring your will. You forbid, in the most express manner any of your subjects, of what state or condition soever, to do or write any thing tending to support the disputes that had arisen in regard to this constitution, or to create new ones. You forbid them to attack or provoke one another, by injurious terms of *innovators*, *heretics*, *schismatics*, *Jansenists*, *Semi-pelagians*, or any other party names, as any such delinquents would be treated as rebels disobedient to your orders, and seditious perturbators of the public tranquillity. In a word, you enjoined all the archbishops and bishops to watch each in his particular diocese, that peace and tranquillity were charitably and inviolably observed, and that these disputes were no more renewed.

“ It were to have been wished, that such sagacious orders had been followed by the most rigorous execution, and that you had armed your avenging hand against such ecclesiastics as dare contemn your Majesty, and withdraw from the obedience that was due to you ! But this they have dared, and the attempt had remained unpunished, their passionate zeal has no longer known any bounds ; they have declared those who were not of their opinion rebels to the church, and as such unworthy of partaking of its benefits, and they have inhumanly refused them the sacraments at the point of death. These abuses
“ have

“ have been daily increased—and how much has
 “ not religion suffered by them?

“ Impiety has availed itself of disquisitions that
 “ prevailed amongst the ministers of religion, to at-
 “ tack religion itself.

“ The uncertainty that was introduced with re-
 “ gard to the foundation of the legitimacy of faith,
 “ hath been the means employed by impiety to infi-
 “ nuate into people’s minds its mortal poison.
 “ What advantage hath it not derived from the
 “ melancholy circumstances wherein we saw the
 “ holy fathers, who had passed their lives in exer-
 “ cising the laborious functions of the ministry to
 “ which they were consecrated? enlightened doc-
 “ tors, still more recommendable for their piety than
 “ their understanding: pious maidens, who, in
 “ their recluse retreat entirely engaged with God
 “ and their salvation, passed their time in the most
 “ austere works of repentance, treated like refracto-
 “ ry members of the church, deprived with igno-
 “ miny of the benefits it dispensed to its children,
 “ without its being known what truths decided by
 “ the church, these children refused to believe, or
 “ what errors prescribed by it, they refused to
 “ condemn!

“ The ostentatious philosopher, who foolishly
 “ jealous of the divinity itself, sees with regret the
 “ homage that is paid to him, judged this to be the
 “ favourable moment for producing his monstrous
 “ system of incredulities.

“ This system promulgated abroad has unhappily
 “ made but too rapid progress. A torrent of writ-
 “ ings, infected with these detestable errors, rushed
 “ forth; and to complete the misfortune, they
 “ have insensibly crept into those schools destined
 “ to form proper defenders of faith and religion.
 “ Strange calamity for a most christian King! Er-

“ ror

“ Error gains ground, and is not removed ; the
 “ principal ministers of religion are employed only
 “ in exacting the acceptance of a decree, which
 “ offering nothing certain, alarms timid consciences
 “ by the consequences that may be drawn from it
 “ against the salutary doctrine, and whilst they with
 “ the greatest rigour prosecute those, who, by at
 “ least a pardonable, if not a well grounded scruple,
 “ refuse subscribing to it ; they neglect what is
 “ essential, and let religion be shaken to its very
 “ foundation.

“ The impious become more resolute, and au-
 “ dacity is carried to its greatest height ; and it was
 “ reserved for us to be eye-witnesses of a public
 “ thesis being maintained without opposition, in the
 “ first university of the christian world, whereby all
 “ the false principles of incredulity are systematically
 “ established *.

“ Your parliament, Sire, who by the authority
 “ you have conferred upon them, should principal-
 “ ly attend to whatever regards the religion of the
 “ state, are moved at the sight of so scandalous a
 “ proceeding. They have summoned the agents of
 “ the university. The attention of the magistrates
 “ has called the faculty back to their duty, has a-
 “ wakened the zeal of the pastors ; and soon after
 “ appeared the censures of the Thesis, accompanied
 “ with the most dishonourable sentence, with which
 “ he who had the audacity to maintain it, was
 “ branded*.

“ Such are the wounds that the growing schism
 “ has from its birth given to religion. What may
 “ we not fear it has to suffer in the sequel ; and

* The Thesis of the Abbè Prade.

* We did not know that the magistrate first brought
 the Sorbonne back to their duty, and awakened the zeal of
 the pastors, who slept in tranquillity by the side of the wolf.

“ can

“ can we view it without being penetrated with
 “ affliction ? With some it will be totally destroy-
 “ ed, and if others preserve it, the spirit will be
 “ entirely lost.

“ Hatred, animosity, and persecution, seize up-
 “ on their hearts ; those divine characters of union
 “ and charity, which distinguish the catholic church,
 “ are no longer to be known ; and religion will be
 “ almost universally destroyed, either in the mind,
 “ or in the heart.

“ But, Sire, if your parliament owe their first
 “ attention to the interest of religion, they are e-
 “ qually engaged by the fidelity they have sworn to
 “ you, to guard the preservation of those great
 “ maxims which constitute the essence of your so-
 “ vereignty.

“ And how could they avoid opposing with all
 “ their might, the progress of a scheme framed
 “ by some ministers of the church, to erect the
 “ constitution *Unigenitus*, as a rule of faith. This
 “ enterprize, inasmuch as it is prejudicial to religi-
 “ on, is contrary to the principles of public right,
 “ upon which the independency of your authority
 “ is founded. When this bull came into France,
 “ your parliament acquainted Lewis XIV. with all
 “ the danger of the condemnation which was there-
 “ in pronounced against the proposition that relates
 “ to the matter of excommunication.

“ Hence will follow, we told him, that unjust ex-
 “ communications, that even the menaces of an unjust
 “ censure, may suspend the accomplishment of the
 “ most essential and indispensable duties : and what
 “ might be the consequence ? The liberties of the
 “ Gallican church, the maxims adopted by the king-
 “ dom upon the authority of kings, upon the inde-
 “ pendency of their crown, upon the fidelity that is
 “ due to them from their subjects, might be anni-
 hilated,

“ bilated, or at least suspended in the minds of the
 “ people, solely by the impresson made on them by a
 “ menace of excommunication, though unjust.

“ Lewis XIV. was sensible of the importance of
 “ these reflections. The bull was not received but
 “ with such modifications, as are not so much mo-
 “ difications as an absolute assertion of the condemn-
 “ ed proposition.

“ These wise precautions, the ramparts of our
 “ liberty, judged necessary by the late King, con-
 “ firmed by your Majesty upon every occasion,
 “ carefully repeated in the declarations you made
 “ to establish the authority of the bull, conformable
 “ to the sentiments of the bishops, who gave their
 “ explanations in 1744, and corroborated by the
 “ formal decision of the Sorbonne, as they solemn-
 “ ly declared it verbally, by their Syndic in 1732;
 “ how are these to be reconciled with the eminent
 “ character that is now wanted to be given this
 “ bull, in erecting it into a *rule of faith*?

“ Dogmas of faith are not susceptible of modifi-
 “ cation; so that giving to the bull the qualificati-
 “ ons or effects of a *rule of faith*, and exacting its
 “ pure and simple acceptance upon this foundation,
 “ is by a necessary consequence destroying the mo-
 “ difications which have been opposed to it, sub-
 “ verting the great principle of your absolute inde-
 “ pendence of all other power whatever; it is en-
 “ deavouring to obtain the acknowledgment of an
 “ authority, capable of annihilating or suspending
 “ the rights of your sovereign authority.

“ Your Majesty, convinced of this truth, how-
 “ ever favourable you may have expressed yourself
 “ upon the bull, has never allowed it to be deno-
 “ minated a *rule of faith*. All those writings which
 “ have appeared, wherein it has been endeavoured
 “ to represent it in that light, have been proscribed

“ by

“ by judgments which you yourself have given:
 “ and when your parliament represented to you in
 “ 1733, their uneasiness at the conduct of some
 “ ecclesiastics, in various dioceses, who appeared
 “ to give this character to the bull; your Majesty
 “ reproached them or having foreseen that it could
 “ happen, that the spiritual authority should desire
 “ to erect into a dogma of faith, propositions con-
 “ trary to the inviolable maxims of France

“ Your Majesty told us that such an undertaking
 “ would not revolt less against the church of your
 “ kingdom, than against the magistrates; and that
 “ we might have been in security by the precau-
 “ tions which the bishops took in 1714, for the pre-
 “ servation of maxims, with regard to the ninety-
 “ first condemned proposition.

“ But, Sir, of what signification are these pre-
 “ cautions taken by some bishops of your kingdom,
 “ if the others do not adhere to them, if they ex-
 “ act the pure and simple acceptance of the bull,
 “ if they look upon those as out of the pale of the
 “ church who do not declare their submission to it,
 “ without any restriction or reserve, and if they
 “ pretend to exclude them upon this foundation
 “ from the participation of all sacraments?

“ There are few amongst them, it is true, who
 “ have openly declared themselves by saying,
 “ that the constitution is *a rule of faith*; but by
 “ giving it the effect of *a rule of faith*, is not that
 “ saying that it is *a rule of faith*? In matters of
 “ doctrine, none but those who err in a point of
 “ faith, can be excluded the participation of the
 “ sacraments of the church; therefore a refusal of
 “ the sacraments to whosoever does not submit to
 “ the constitution, is making the constitution a rule
 “ of faith.

“ The

“ The condemnation that the constitution has
 “ pronounced against the ninety-first proposition,
 “ is manifestly contrary to the great maxims of the
 “ kingdom, and is absolutely incompatible with the
 “ observance of these maxims. Therefore, when
 “ we see the ministers of the church, when we see
 “ the bishops establish the constitution as a rule
 “ of faith, we see that by a fatality, which, Sire,
 “ your goodness could not presume, that they want
 “ to erect into dogmas the faith or opinions,
 “ contrary to the most inviolable maxims of France.

“ They in vain protest their attachment to our
 “ liberties. Their conduct belies the sincerity of
 “ their words: Or, if it is really nothing more than
 “ an extravagant zeal for the bull that actuates
 “ them, they teach us how dangerous it is for
 “ them to decide arbitrarily in causes that may ex-
 “ clude the participation of the sacraments. Their
 “ pretended zeal becomes a passion that blinds them;
 “ prejudice shuts their eyes to the consequences of
 “ their conduct. Add to this, that if this tyranny
 “ were once introduced, we should soon see it by
 “ a still greater abuse, if possible, extending itself
 “ over matters entirely foreign to the dogma, and
 “ purely temporal. The point would not then only
 “ be what might relate to conscience; they would
 “ make themselves arbiters of the state, and of the
 “ form of the citizens, and would render the ad-
 “ mission of the sacraments just as conditional as
 “ they pleased.

“ These are not vain fears that agitate us. We
 “ know but too well, that even in this case, no-
 “ thing could conquer the obstinacy of an unjust
 “ refusal; and that neither the most respectable
 “ birth, nor the most pure, constant, and exempt a-
 “ rry virtue, would be sufficient titles to claim, at
 “ the point of death, these sacred benefits, the dis-
 penations

“pensation whereof cannot depend upon human
“motives, and which by right belong to the faith-
“ful *.

“Your parliament, Sire, strangely surpris’d at so
“many abuses, daily committed before their eyes,
“have been made still more strongly sensible of the
“danger, when having sent a deputation to the arch-
“bishop of Paris, with regard to the fresh refusal of
“the sacraments, by the curate of St. Etienne du
“Mont; this prelate, without making any reply,
“imperiously declared, that this was done by his
“orders. What reflections must the mind make at
“such a declaration! We shall now suppress them
“out of respect.

“It will be sufficient to say, that your parliament
“have judg’d it to be their indispensable duty to act
“with rigour against this curate, in order to teach
“the inferior ministers of the church, that whatever
“orders they may have received from their superi-
“ors, they are answerable for putting them in execu-
“tion, when these orders tend to disturb the public
“tranquillity, and particularly when they are liable
“to foment a schism, the consequences of which
“cannot be considered without horror. May we
“be permitted, Sire, to supplicate you to take into
“consideration the remonstrances which your parli-
“ament had the honour of presenting you last year.
“You will there find it demonstrated, that the error
“in the representation of a bill of confession, which
“the curate of St. Etienne du Mont alledged for

* The features of this portrait were certainly drawn
for the late Duke of Orleans, to whom, we are assured,
the archbishop refused the sacraments. If this be
true, who dare think himself worthy of aspiring to this
favour?

the

“ the reason of his refusal, cannot be a legal cause
 “ for refusing the *holy viaticum* to a dying person,
 “ and that the exaction of this bill is only a vague
 “ pretence for refusing the sacraments to those who
 “ are suspected of not accepting the constitution.

“ May we be allowed to recal to your memory,
 “ the principles established in the representations
 “ which your parliament made previously to you in
 “ 1731, and 1733, upon the first refusal of the sa-
 “ craments that came to their knowledge. The
 “ *Bull Unigenitus* is not a rule of faith. The church
 “ alone could give it this supreme character, and
 “ the church has not given it. This bull is even
 “ of such a nature that it cannot be a rule of faith.
 “ It offers nothing certain. The different qualifi-
 “ cations it gives to the propositions which it con-
 “ demns, and this indetermination, absolutely op-
 “ pose its ever being a dogma of faith : These
 “ maxims of France, which form the basis of our
 “ liberties, would otherwise soon be destroyed.

“ Will you, then, Sire, permit the torch of
 “ schism to be lighted up in the heart of your
 “ kingdom, on account of the acceptance that is
 “ exacted of this bull. There is nothing more
 “ menacing to an empire, than divisions in religious
 “ matters : They become still more fatal when the
 “ cause is unjust. Let them not be introduced into
 “ your kingdom, stifle them in their birth, and to
 “ that end let your parliaments act. They alone
 “ can restore a calm, by the vigilant exertion of
 “ their institution. A dying person may, at every
 “ instant have recourse to the magistrate, to
 “ claim the benefits that may be inhumanly denied
 “ him.

“ If you reserve to yourself the care of mak-
 “ ing provision in this case, however favourable
 “ your intentions may be, the distance of places,

“ the

Marchioness of POMPADOUR.

“ the importance of your occupations, the difficulty of gaining access to the foot of your throne, will prevent their effect.

“ Severity will not so effectually suppress the designs that veil the schism, as dispatch. Its progress is to be dreaded. Preachers already arise, who endeavour to disturb the people’s minds, and make our churches echo with their seditious sermons. If the fire encreases, it is to be feared that the flames will spread to such a degree, that no authority will be sufficiently powerful to stop the conflagration.

“ Let us call to mind in the history of past ages, those bills of association; those extorted declarations in the tribunal of penance; those scandalous sermons which spread the alarm in timorous consciences; those bloody wars carried to such an excess, that shook even this throne.

“ Struck with dread at the sight of these great misfortunes, we shall not cease, Sire, to rise up against all such proceedings as tend to schism; and we shall not cease to lay before you their shocking consequences. To prevent our acting, to stifle our voices, we must be annihilated. And if by an event which we should consider ourselves as almost guilty to foresee, it should happen that our constancy to support the rights of your crown, those of the state and of religion, we should draw upon ourselves your Majesty’s disgrace, we should lament without altering our conduct.

“ Incapable of betraying our duty, we should have nothing to offer you in homage but our tears, till time should convince you how advantageous it is for you, that your parliament at no period swerve from the inviolable fidelity they owe to religion, to their country, and to their

“ King; and that in their archives may be found
 “ the uninterrupted tradition of conduct and max-
 “ ims, which secure the tranquillity of your king-
 “ dom, and the independance of your sovereignty.

“ Such, Sire, are the most humble and respectful
 “ remonstrances which the counsellors in parlia-
 “ ment assembled, have the honour of presenting
 “ to your Majesty.

“ Done in parliament, this
 13th of April, 1752.

“ Signed,

“ DE MAUPEOU.

This fine discourse, written with energy, did not proclaim peace, but was, on the contrary, a declaration of war, founded in appearance upon the exigencies of the police, and the tranquillity of the state; the spirit of party was, however, its only dictator: The parliament being composed almost entirely of Jansenists, wanted to destroy the Molinist cabal. Each pursued his private prejudices, and no one thought of the advantage of the state.

The King, in answer to these representations, declared, that he should take upon himself to punish such priests as gave offence to the state, by refusing the sacraments, and forbid the parliament interfering in the matter: but this court took care not to obey. So far from submitting, they published an arret, expressly ordering the priests to ask no bills of confession from the sick people, and to administer the sacraments to them, without interrogating them in any shape upon the subject. As ordonnances are generally of greater latitude than they should be, this body, having become all at once Theologists, availed themselves of this opportunity to forbid the preachers using certain expressions, and
 they

they specified the terms in which their sermons should be conceived.

Idle people, who deride every thing, even the most serious affairs, turned this arret into ridicule. The wits of Paris said that the Parliament had pared the preachers nails in such a manner, that they could not scratch the Jansenists any more.

Such sick people as wanted to commune, purchased an arret, which they presented instead of a bill of confession. The retailers of bon-mots said, "That the parliament of Paris were going to establish a communion office at Paris, where the Jansenists might furnish themselves with each sacrament, at the rate of forty-two sols tournois, for an arret.

The court issued another ordonnance in favour of the *Bull Unigenitus*; but the parliament, without paying attention to it, sent forth decrees against the priests who refused to administer. The two parties became inveterate, by their reciprocal obstinacy.

The Dauphin's illness, which happened at the height of this dispute, produced some short truce. This Prince found himself indisposed, as he retired to his apartment on the first of May, 1752, at night. His disorder was the small-pox, as was visible from the usual symptoms. He happily recovered from it; and the King, who was at first alarmed, testified great joy upon this Prince's recovery.

Lew's XV. is very fond of his children, and particularly the Dauphin: never did a father sympathise so much at the vicissitudes of his family. He pays remarkable attention to all those who belong to him. Whenever the Queen is the least indisposed, he flies to her apartment, and never leaves her till she is better.

All France congratulated him upon the recovery of the presumptive heir to the crown. Each body

of the state demonstrated their joy by some particular rejoicings, and the people displayed theirs by general festivity.

I resolved in turn to testify my satisfaction at this happy event, by an analogous feast; but I would do nothing without consulting the King. I imparted to him my design, which he approved of, and my plan, which he applauded.

Every one that has heard my name mentioned, knows that I obtained BELLE-VUE, where I had exhausted the refinements of art to make an agreeable receptacle for the King. These kinds of feasts must be allegorical, otherwise they do not express the subject of the rejoicing.

My decoration represented various dens surrounded with a piece of water, in the middle of which was seen a luminous dolphin. Several monsters attacked it, in vomiting flames; but Apollo, who was its protector, hurled his thunder at them from above, and a large quantity of fireworks compleated their destruction, as well as that of their residence. The scene then instantly changed, and became the brilliant palace of the sun, where the dolphin re-appeared, in all its splendor, by means of a magnificent illumination, which lasted all night.

Scarce had the Dauphin recovered from his disorder, before the parliament and the bishops engaged a-new the attention of the court and the city. It was the peace that gave sufficient leisure to attend to these disputes. In time of war, they would have had other objects to engage their attention than bills of confession. The court would have despised such an affair; and the parliament would not have allowed it to be mentioned.

The obstinacy of the parliament, and the stubbornness of the curates in refusing the sacraments, increased the King's melancholy. I endeavoured to multiply

multiply the amusements of his private parties, in order to remove that state of languor which business had brought upon him. I detained him with me at night as late as I possibly could, and did not let him retire, till I had dissipated the clouds of his mind, by every method that I thought would produce the effect. Music was a great assistant to me. Rameaux was very useful to me in this respect. The King had a taste for light airs, and this musician excelled in this kind of composition. Jelliot executed still better than Rameaux composed. He was unrivalled in giving life to expression, and grace to sound. I may venture to say, that this performer, by the gaiety that he spread over the King's mind, was often the mediator of the most important affairs of Europe.

We know that all our resolutions spring from the actual disposition of the soul. A monarch that refuses every thing when his mind is seized with a certain melancholy, grants every thing when this vapour is dissipated.

This disposition, the usual effect of secondary causes, and which derives its origin from an harmonious sound, a wink, and most frequently from the temperature of the air, does not always pursue the rule of justice. It is unhappy for the people to be governed by mortals subject to a machine susceptible of every kind of impression. It would be for the good of mankind if they were governed by angels. I often repeated, that Lewis XV. was extremely affected by these religious disputes. I often heard him say, he would prefer being at war with princes rather than with Theologians, because with those the treaty of peace terminates the quarrel; whereas with these even the spirit of reconciliation contributes to encrease it.

Marshal Saxe formerly said to me, that if he were to have gained an advantage over the Tartars, he would

have giving them quarter; but that if he had conquered an army of Theologians, he would have exterminated them without mercy.

A man of wit, and a great politician, was of opinion, that the universities should be shut up, and their theses forbidden upon pain of death. He shewed me a manuscript work, whereby he pretended to prove that all the wars, and all the crimes that had been committed in Europe since the establishment of christianity, derived their origin from religious disputes.

This is easy to believe, he added, if we consider that the spirit of contention, which springs from dogmas, spreads itself through every class, and that it is this general spirit that forms the genius of nations.

The war relating to the *Constitution* still continuing, plenipotentiaries were appointed: these were commissaries, who were to decide, whether the curates had a right to let the King's subjects die without communing. The Bishops said, this was the business of a council; but the parliament were of opinion, that the *Bul Unigenitus* was in subordination to the police of the state. These commissaries assembled very regularly; but they took care to come to no determination.

The Prince of Conti, who was alway in a passion when this affair was mentioned before him, said, it should be decided by a court martial.

To this kind of tragedy some comic scenes were united. A curate who was compelled to administer to a sick person, said to him in a loud voice, *I commune you by order of the parliament.* Another expressed himself thus to a dying man: *It is in consequence of an arret of the great chamber, that I bring you God Almighty.*

The body of the clergy, who till now had appeared neuter in the affairs, entered the lists. The bishops asked justice of the King, for the attempt of the

the parliament, who interferred in what did not relate to them; and the reason they assigned was, that only God, the Pope, the bishops, and the curates, had the right of administering. They pretended that the great chamber should make reparation to the archbishop of Paris, for having accused him of favouring a schism.

The King was very far from granting them what they required, as he could not obtain of the parliament what he asked of them. Here again it was necessary to issue arrets, to prevent licentious writings, and order certain books to be burnt by the hand of the hangman. These were so many fresh attacks upon the King's constitution, and what spread an additional gloom over his temper, already too grave.

Of all the royal family, the King was the only one who took this matter to heart. The Queen had accustomed herself to lay all the vicissitudes of this world at the foot of the crucifix: the King's daughters would not allow the *Bull Unigenitus* to be mentioned: the Dauphin only said that he could not speak, but that if he were King, he should know what he had to do; the Princes of the blood despised these disputes; the courtiers wanted to be meddling, but they knew nothing of the matter. It was happy for France that old Marshal Belleisle was no Theologian, for he would have embroiled matters still more. His highest ambition was to fathom these things; but his age and vocations did not allow him to signalize himself upon this occasion. He nevertheless, engaged in a dispute upon predestination, to seem as if he was acquainted with what he was entirely ignorant of.

Both parties were very solicitous for my declaring myself openly; but besides my discovering that they were both headstrong, my happiness prompted me to wish for the annihilation of the Constitu-

tion, as the King's repose so much depended upon it.

I proposed to Lewis XV. that he should forbid all his subjects, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, to pronounce the words *Bull*, *Jansenist*, or *Molinist*, on pain of being severely punished; and to sentence such priests as should be convicted of having refused the administration of the sacraments, to perpetual imprisonment. But the goodness of his heart would not allow him to exercise any methods that had an air of violence or despotism. He wanted to be obeyed; but then, only by moderate and gentle means.

While it was debated what method to pursue, to terminate these disputes, a courtier said to the King, "Sire, there is but one resource, which is, to renew the *Vingtieme*, and examine the ecclesiastical revenues; the bishops will forget the *Bull Unigenitus*, when they are reminded that they must give money to the state." In effect, this new object diverted their attention from the other.

The arrival of the Infanta of Parma completely dissipated that lowering disposition which the *Constitution* had spread at court. Nothing was thought of but entertaining the princess. I advised the King to give a ball and an opera. In these diversions I strove rather to amuse the King, than to divert this sovereign princess his daughter.

The ministers of state, whom I often saw, told me that they were very much occupied. The war had thrown them into arrears for ten years. The King had given M. d'Argenson a coadjutor in the war department. This was the Marquis de Paulini, a very able and intelligent man; but arts and literature engaged part of that time which might have been employed for the benefit of the state.

He knew more than a learned man need to have done, and he was unacquainted with more things
than

than a minister should have been ignorant of. The King had sent him to examine the military state of France. He had just visited the southern parts to reconnoitre the fortresses, and the troops quarters. When he made his report to the King, he added, that he had seen the protestants of Languedoc, and that at a time they were suspected of taking up arms, they were assembled to offer up prayers to heaven for the recovery of the Dauphin. This intelligence greatly affected the King. It gives peculiar pleasure to sovereigns to find all their subjects attached to them. This, perhaps, is the most tender point of self-love in princes.

Though the King, by an effect of that goodness which is so natural to him, often laid aside his disposition to make our conversation agreeable, the progress of melancholy was very rapid upon my mind. At certain moments every thing was insipid to me. I was convinced of the propriety of what Madam de Maintenon once said, that in every state of life there is a dreadful vacuum. What increased my anxiety was, that I was obliged to put on a gay appearance, at the very time that the most gnawing grief preyed upon me.

Here will I say, to the scandal of human greatness, that notwithstanding the favour I possessed, and the brilliant elevation of my fortune, I several times resolved upon quitting the court—Ambition alone doubtless withheld me, for we sacrifice all things to our predominant passion. It was this same ambition that, having raised me to the pinnacle of grandeur, made me pass more unhappy days than those which would have glided away, If I had remained in a less distinguished state. Every body envied my fate, and no one thought but that I was the happiest of women: but the state of my felicity was far from corresponding with the idea the world entertained of it.

Those who aspire to a more elevated sphere than that wherein virtue has placed them, fancy that riches, rank, grandeur and titles, contribute to happiness, and that in these imaginary advantages felicity centers. This is a fallacious opinion; when once we are accustomed to these things, they seldom afford us any gratification. The idea which we frame of them, pleases us more than possession itself. Neither magnificent palaces, superb furniture, nor the most valuable jewels in Europe, which I possessed, could make me happy.

The Count de Maurepas, who had compelled me to request the King to grant him an exile, signified to some persons about me, that he should like to obtain leave to reside in common at Pontchartrain. This castle is situated near Versailles, and he was expressly forbid, upon leaving court, to reside there. I voluntarily took upon myself to obtain this permission for him. I asked it of the King, who said to me, in granting it,—“Indeed, Madam, “I admire your noble soul; the Count de Maurepas has grievously offended you, and you, nevertheless, interest yourself in his behalf.”

When the Count's friends found that the King so easily granted what was requested in his favour, they spoke to me about his recall to court: But I refused to employ my credit to obtain this fresh indulgence. This was the only thing wherein Lewis XV. possessed unshakeable fortitude. I do not know, that notwithstanding all this Prince's favour, with which I was honoured, I could in this have succeeded. The attempt might have been dangerous to myself: We should never expose ourselves to a refusal: it is the first step that leads to indifference.

It was then publicly said, that this minister was indebted for this favour to the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault and the Duke de Nivernois, his relations,

who at that time had some interest at court : but the truth is, that neither the one or the other had any share in it.

The King was always surrounded with remonstrances from his parliaments. I complained to the gentlemen of the gown, of the disturbances which they themselves created in the state, by their obstinacy. They always answered me, that they laboured for the glory of the King, the welfare of the state, and the happiness of the people. It is, in my opinion, a great abuse of the administration in France, that private individuals, born in obscurity, and almost constantly without any other merit than that of having purchased an employment for two or three thousand louis d'ors, should consider themselves as part of the monarchy, and be continually struggling with the royal authority. Marshal Saxe, before he died, told the King, Sire, " I advise you to reimburse your parliaments ; for it is from the value of their employment, that these people derive their consequence."

These disputes brought religion into contempt. An author, who, supposing that the *Bull Unigenitus* was entirely destroyed, as the parliament wanted to compel the curates to administer to sick people, suspected of Jansenism, published a performance under this title, "*The funeral oration of that most high and powerful Princess, the Bu'l UNIGENITUS.*"

It has been observed, that such books as these corrupt the morals more than heresy itself. The parliament, who would not submit to the King, said, that they opposed the schism. The Jansenists, who were refused the administration of the sacraments, maintained with all their might, that the gates of heaven were shut against them, in opposing the will of God ; which was a schism in this doctrine, as they allowed of no flexibility in Providence : where-

fore

fore Mr. Maillebois, the father, said, that the Jansenists were guilty of heresy against their own sect; for they wanted to force predestination, after having taught that it was immutable.

This scene, which continued for several years, made France quite ridiculous. The protestants of the kingdom, who were forbidden to speak, said nothing: but those in foreign countries avenged their brethren's taciturnity, by publishing the most poignant satires against those disputes, without considering that the same principles amongst them produce the same divisions.

Engraving was made a party in this affair; a plate was dedicated to me, wherein the hall of the parliament of Paris represented the school of the Sorbonne. All the presidents and counsellors were dressed like doctors, who instructed the King and the bishops of France in point of religion, and these were depicted as scholars.

These sarcasms, which afflicted the King, embittered my days. I spoke upon this subject to the first president, complained to the bishops, and had some curates introduced to me, to talk with them about it; but these measures procured me no relief, this dispute having given importance to these people, in the opinion of the world, which they would not otherwise have obtained.

Whilst a proper medicine was sought to appease these troubles, the clergy came to ask justice of the King, for the attack the parliament had made. This body had issued arrets in regard to matters that were more connected with theology than policy.

The King appointed a commission to take cognizance of this affair. The deputies of the bishops required preliminaries to be settled, before they entered upon a negociation. They demanded, 1. The annulling of a certain arret, as an attack upon the authority

authority of the church. 2. The establishment of bills of confession. 3. A reparation of honour from the parliament to the archbishop, for having accused him of favouring a schism. The King granted the deputies partly what they asked, and refused them the other part. He annulled the arret, not only because it infringed the rights of the clergy, but because it attacked his own authority; "inasmuch, said the declarations, as the parliament have not a right to make regulations; and that in case they should have any to make, they should apply to the King, to ask him leave."

In the same arret it was set forth, that no case could occur, wherein a priest was entitled to refuse the sacraments on account of the *Bull Unigenitus*. It was therefore added, "that with respect to spiritual administration, the lay judges had no right to take any cognizance, unless a law-suit ensued."

These distinctions did not restore peace, but war continued. They fought as before with the weapons of remonstrance. The parliament, who were desirous of interfering as a party in the affair relating to the administration of the sacraments, would not content themselves with being only judges. New satirical writings made their appearance: they spared neither church nor state; and the King was greatly mortified by them. I often entreated him to pay no regard to these wretched pamphlets, whose low obscure authors were more deserving of contempt than chastisement. But I could never prevail upon him to take this revenge, which is the only one that should gratify sovereigns, with respect to these unfortunate scribblers.

To convince him what sort of animals these authors were, I sent for one into my apartment at Versailles, after having promised him pardon for the book he had wrote, and also my protection. The King saw him, and spoke to him for some time;
after

after which he said to me, in raising his shoulders,
 “ Indèed, Madam, you are right, those folks de-
 “ serve more to be pitied than hated.”

Though Europe enjoyed a state of tranquillity in 1753, this was a period of troubles and divisions in France.

The nobility of Brittany shewed themselves equally turbulent as the bishops, the clergy, and the parliament. They protested in a very high stile, against what had been determined by arret, during the assembly of the states. They had no such right. This assembly in a body represent the royal authority ; so that their deliberations are above the protestations of any individuals that compose it. Lewis XV. had several letters de cachet dispatched, which exiled the bishops in their dioceses, and the gentlemen in their estates.

Marshal Belleisle said, that “ Letters de cachet
 “ in France were the only specific for curing the
 “ disorder of disobedience : but that they were so
 “ often used, that it was to be feared, they would
 “ at length produce no effect ?” But this remedy is not always made use of by the King ; ministers oftener apply it than the Prince : this is what renders the French administration so odious to foreigners. I have, nevertheless, heard a man of great sense applaud the use of them. He pretended that order was produced by this disorder. “ It is said,
 “ continued he, that the King of England has no
 “ authority to arrest the lowest of his subjects. This
 “ is very well in England, where a republican spirit
 “ keeps every one within the bounds prescribed to
 “ him by the constitution ; but, in France, where
 “ nobody is acquainted with the laws, where the
 “ climate and society excite every man’s desire of
 “ speaking, all would be lost, if the administration
 “ had not the authority of stopping this natural impetuosity of Frenchmen, &c. &c.

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“ This authority lodged with the sovereign is,
 “ perhaps, necessary amongst us ; without it the great
 “ bodies politic would infringe too much upon the
 “ rights of the crown. We have often seen in
 “ France, the clergy, the third estate, and par-
 “ liaments, endeavouring to rule over the rights of
 “ the King. If the sovereign had not then the
 “ power of stopping the proceedings of these bodies,
 “ all government must have subsided ; for it cannot
 “ be imagined, that those, who represent the church
 “ and the people, would rule with a spirit of mode-
 “ ration and patriotism. In every state of life, man
 “ is animated with ambition, and the most dange-
 “ rous kind of ambition is that which has for its
 “ pretext the glory of God, and the happiness of
 “ the people.”

The same year gave us one example of this, with respect to the parliament of Paris, to whom the court paid too great deference, and who were so daring as to speak to the King in these words, in one of their remonstrances.

“ If those persons, who abuse your Majesty’s
 “ confidence, pretend to reduce us to the alterna-
 “ tive, either of failing in our duty, or incurring
 “ your disgrace, we declare to them, that we feel
 “ ourselves possessed of courage to become the vic-
 “ tims of our fidelity.”

M. de Belleisle, who personally attended at this last representation, said to the King, that after this *coup d’éclat* (bold stroke) the parliament must either be dissolved, or the administration of the kingdom given up to them. Lewis XV. banished them to Pontoise ; but this did not increase their docility : chastisement came too late ; they had been accustomed to withstand the government. From the extremity of their exile they braved the authority of the King, who upon this occasion testified less fortitude than the parliament did weakness. They
 were

were exiled to punish them for having interfered with the bills of confession; and they were no sooner at Podtoise, than he decreed the seizing of a priest, for having refused the administration of the sacraments.

Two marriages took place, which in some measure diverted these parliamentary broils. That of the Prince de Conde with Mademoiselle Soubise. There were at first some difficulties raised, with respect to the titles of the house of Soubise; for this was a ticklish period, when obstacles were started on every hand; but the King found out a modification, by granting to both the houses of Bouillon and Soubise the quality of serene highnesses.

Mademoiselle de Soubise brought the Prince of Conde a portion of five millions of livres in land, without reckoning her jewels and other expectancies at the death of her father. The Princess whom Lewis XIV. wedded, and the lady with whom Lewis XV. shared his throne, were not by far so rich.

The second marriage was that of the Duke of Gisors, son to Marshal Belleisle, with Mademoiselle de Nivernois. The court is the region of metamorphose: the *procureur-general* Fouquet, condemned to death by nine judges, and banished France for his malversation in the finances, would never have imagined that his grandson would become the father-in-law to the daughter of the duke of Nivernois.

This duke was at that time ambassador at Rome, and I frequently saw him upon his return. He was, in my opinion, one of the foremost in merit among the lords at court. The characters of the great are generally composed of good qualities and defects, whereby they are less distinguished by their virtues than their vices. This nobleman was exempt from those foibles which tarnish superior talents. He was

an active, vigilant, indefatigable minister ; a great statesman ; a profound politician ; uniting with the sublime qualities of a negociator all those which make a man amiable in society, being a good husband, a good father, and a good friend—in a word, an honest man. Interest, that passion which vilifies the great, found no refuge in his heart. I could willingly compare him to Prince Charles of Lorrain, for the virtues of his mind ; and to one of the greatest geniuses that do honour to the age, for the qualities of his head :—he may not, perhaps, be so brilliant, but, then he has more solidity.

These two marriages were necessary to free us from that languid state, in which those mournful disputes had immersed us. It was in vain for me to attempt giving the King a gay turn of mind ; those unhappy affairs constantly brought him back to his melancholy state. Besides, I did not now, as I have already said, possess myself that gaiety and cheerfulness which, before my residence at Versailles, so greatly characterized me ; and it is difficult to transmit to others what we no longer enjoy ourselves.

Lewis XV. who, in his lively moments, took a good deal of pleasure in reproaching me with this change of disposition, said to me one day, “ *Me-thinks, Madam, that you throw a great share of gravity into your behaviour. If this continues, I must play my part to make you laugh ; I must sing little couplets to divert you.*” This was precisely the means I had used to dispel that gloom which overwhelmed him : upon my arrival at Versailles I understood his meaning, and I endeavoured to get the better of my pensive disposition.

The parliament still continued in disgrace : the Prince of Conde endeavoured to restore them to favour. He exerted himself greatly to compass this design. This prince, who had retired from Versailles,

faillies, troubled himself very little with the perplexities of the court. When the King was informed of the task he had undertaken, his Majesty said, *It is surprising that the Prince of Conti who has hitherto never meddled with any thing, should give himself the trouble to bring such headstrong people back to their duty.*

His efforts were fruitless; they would not submit to this Prince's reasons, and he said upon his return to the isle of Adam, "If the King had sent me plenipotentiary to some prince at enmity with France, I should have terminated the war; but I cannot negotiate between him and his parliament."

The King set out for Compeigne, where the Court was very brilliant. All the Princes of the blood and the nobility of the kingdom repaired thither. It is by custom established, that the subjects eat with the King at Compeigne; in consequence of which several lords regaled the monarch. Among those who gave feasts to his Majesty, one Marquis Regnier de Guerchy, lieutenant general, and colonel of the King's regiment, distinguished himself the most. Methought he had taste and judgment; for both are necessary to treat a King of France with splendour and delicacy. This colonel's table at Compeigne usually consisted of two hundred covers, and it happened more than once in this journey, that he had upwards of three hundred guests. It was said of this lieutenant-general, that he had served his country very well, which, according to me, is the greatest elogium that can be given to a military man.

When the King was at Compeigne, he was less taken up with the disputes about religion and the parliament. Hunting and encampments entirely engaged his attention, which gave him an air of contentment, that he lost when he came to Versailles.

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The year 1753 was the epocha of remonstrances. The comedians turned their representations into state affairs. The opera of Paris, who saw with regret the success of the other theatres, finding that the French comedians had constantly full houses, thought proper to forbid their performing ballets. The comedians made application to the government, to obtain an edict of council to permit them to have dances. There was something whimsical in their remonstrances to the King; for it is difficult for a set of people, who by their profession are destined to excite laughter, to acquire sufficient gravity to preserve such a serious stile as is requisite in a piece dedicated to a supreme tribunal. One of the deputies said to me, "Madam, the modern productions are so very bad, that the greater part of them cannot be supported without ballets. Capering is a great auxiliary to declamation, I foretel you, Madam, that if we are not allowed to dance, words will be of no signification." The King laughed when I related to him this flight.

Nevertheless these same French comedians shut up their theatre, and haughtily declared that they could not act unless they were allowed to dance. This theatrical vacation, which appeared trifling, was really an affair of state. Dramatic performances prevent an infinite number of vices which idleness creates.

The parliament, who were always in part exiled, no longer officiating, it occasioned great detriment to public affairs. The King ordered them to resume their vocations; they did not obey. The great chamber sent a deputation to Versailles; they made fresh remonstrances, and here things remained.

Happily for France, the Dauphiness was brought to bed, and those disputes, which had spread such
a general

a general gloom at court and in the city, were immediately forgot. Public rejoicings inspired such gaiety as dispelled this universal cloud. Frenchmen are seldom long bereft of their chearfulness. A marriage, or recovery, restores to them their natural sprightliness. I do not know whether this continual transition from grief to joy, is not preferable to that pensive disposition of the English, which inspires them with a melancholy, from which no secondary cause can retrieve them. A Spanish Ambassador said to me, *that the French have some moments of existence, but that the English are in a continual state of mortality.*

The new-born Prince was named Duke of Aquitaine. The King forsook business to give an entire loose to pleasure, for which this happy event gave him a relish. It made a sensible change in my disposition, as it inspired our conversation with gaiety, and renewed our satisfaction. Versailles was now the scene of festivity ; when all the nobility belonging to court signalized themselves, and the courtiers upon this occasion seemed transported with joy at an event, which in reality must have been a matter of indifference to them.

Such resources as these were necessary to rescue us from that languid state, wherein the sameness of amusement immersed us. I had employed the greatest refinements of art to dissipate the King's melancholy ; but every thing is at length exhausted. Custom destroys even that novelty, which alone can make impression on our senses.

The Duke of Richelieu, who was often of our parties in the little apartments, afforded us great amusement. He related every thing with that insinuating art that so happily pleases ; but even his wit betrayed too much of the courtier. One might read in his very looks his desire of success ; never did any mortal sacrifice more to fortune ; he was
for

for grasping all favour, and disposing of the state as an absolute master. He publicly said, that he had done all for me, and I had done nothing for him. But if I did not do better for him, he should blame his genius for intrigue, and his ambitious desires, which he had not always the power to moderate. Complaints were frequently made against him, which I appeased. Several courtiers who had resolved to destroy him, had prejudiced Lewis XV. against him, and I restored him to favour. But I was not willing that he should see the King too often; for I knew his scheme was to gain his confidence, and afterwards to estrange from court all those who had too great an ascendant over him.

The bishops of France, who did not know in what to insult the parliament personally, whom they said pretended to regulate the Romish church, took occasion from the birth of the Duke of Aquitaine, to render them odious to the nation, by comparing them to the parliament of England in the reign of Charles I.

The bishop of Montauban, in visiting his diocessans, to thank heaven for having given a grandson to France, thus expressed himself in his mandate. “ The spirit of party and faction was predominant in
“ England; there was no stability in the laws, either
“ divine or human; and in the midst of those clouds
“ of darkness which gathered on every side, all things
“ became uncertain or indifferent, except the sacrile-
“ gious dogma of attributing spiritual supremacy to
“ secular authority.

“ It was at this unfortunate period, that the ene-
“ mies of episcopacy having prevailed, true reli-
“ gion was entirely abolished, and the regal dignity
“ expired in the opprobrium. We saw for the first
“ time, revolted subjects seizing sword in hand,
“ and leading to a shocking prison, a King, whose
“ only crime was, having too patiently borne
their

“ their first sedition; the parliament throwing
 “ off the Yoke of all superior authority, strik-
 “ ing with one hand the bishops, and raising the
 “ other against the head of their sovereign; accusing
 “ him with indecency, and calumniating him with-
 “ out shame; condemning him without justice,
 “ leading him to the scaffold like butchers, and ex-
 “ ecuting him with fury; and the people insatua-
 “ ted with this execrable parricide, became deeply
 “ intoxicated with fanaticism and independence;
 “ pursuing like ideots, a phantom of liberty, whilst
 “ like slaves, they paid to a tyrant that obedience
 “ which they owed to their lawful King. What a
 “ dreadful series of crimes! Here a King assassinated
 “ in his bed—there another hurled from this throne
 “ —all his family banished—the crown transferred
 “ upon the head of a foreigner—ever tottering not-
 “ withstanding the blood spilt to secure it,” &c.

The Prince of Conti said upon this occasion, that
 the bishops should be forbid introducing the history
 of England into public prayers. This was a most
 poignant satire against the parliament, which foretold
 what the state had to fear from this body; but we
 had no Cromwell in France; and the commons of
 England act upon different principles from the par-
 liament of Paris.

The English ambassador made great complaints,
 that any one in France should dare to reproach his
 nation with having put their King to death. He
 spoke to the minister about it, and the bishop's dis-
 course was suppressed. The fate of this kind of writ-
 ings is always determined by the times. If France
 had been at war with England, the mandate would
 not have been suppressed; but the peace which
 then subsisted between the two nations would not
 allow it to pass.

The

The parliament's arret, nevertheless, left a vacuum in the administration of justice, and business languished. I was applied to by a great number of people to prevail upon the King to create new judges. Lewis XV. for a long time resisted these solicitations ; but he at length resolved upon doing it. He established a chamber of *vacations*, who performed the functions of the parliament : but this new chamber was scarce established before the members of the Chatelet declared against it ; for divisions now reigned between the bodies of judicature. There was no one in the kingdom that did not declare itself independent of any other ; which made a man of wit say, that the Turkish constitution was preferable to ours, as the divan alone regulated the state ; whereas every parliament in France created confusion in the kingdom.

Some bailiwicks and presidials in the jurisdiction of the parliament, wanted to share in the general disobedience, as well as disgrace. They refused to acknowledge the chamber of Vacations. Here was fresh subject for exile ; which made a courtier say, that " every corporation was concerned, and the " body of ushers would soon oppose the orders of " the court." The foreign ambassadors who were eye-witnesses of this disorder, gave their sentiments with respect to the system of their governments.

The minister from Venice said, that a senate should be called, wherein the supreme power should be lodged, and which no other body could oppose. The English ambassador spoke of a house of commons. The Spanish ambassador advised the establishment of the inquisition in France.

The parliament, removed to Soissons, obstinately refused resuming their functions ; and the chamber of *vacations* rather increasing the disorder, than restoring the public tranquillity, it was necessary to form a royal chamber, to pursue the business of the parliament.

parliament. M. de Belleisle said, "he wished that this chamber might continue till the end of time."

All France was occupied with the parliament's exile. Another tribunal was substituted in their place, for which it was necessary to create fresh edicts, containing a new form of judicature. The court and city were entirely taken up with these misunderstandings. Upon which occasion a prince of the blood said, that "the court was very good to trouble themselves with such trifles, whilst foreign affairs of importance should engage the attention of the cabinet."

The ministry was in fact greatly weakened during these quarrels. Several members of the great chamber were related to those who filled the first employments in the kingdom. The parliament were by alliance connected with the finances; and many brave officers were either relations or friends of the exiles: Courtiers and those who had their fortunes to make at court, were for the King. I say nothing of the populace, for their opinion is of no weight in France, all divisions of this nature taking place in a region that is quite foreign to them.

These different parties animated the disputes with so much heat, that they were often carried to extremities. Many duels have been fought in Paris, in defence of the great chamber.

A lieutenant-general walking in the Elysian fields, seeing an officer fighting with a counsellor's brother, said to the military man, in parting them, "Sir, keep your courage for the service of the state, we shall soon have occasion for it, for we are assured that the English are going to declare war against France."

Marshal Belleisle, who wanted to be every where, but who could not enter into the disquisitions, because they had begun upon theological disputes, which

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which he did not underftand, endeavoured to put an end to them. He faid to me one day ; “ In God’s name, Madam, bid the King abolifh the parliament, that they may be no more fpoken of at court.” *Marfhal*, I replied, *ſpeak to him yourſelf, I give you the preference.*

The members of the Chatelet, who would not acknowledge the royal chamber, had alfo their partizans, who excited murmurs in Paris ; which made a courtier ſay, that “ the Chatelet ſhould be ſent to the Baſtile.”

Moſt of the provincial tribunals refuſed in turn to ſubmit to this chamber. Lyons ſet the example, and this was ſufficient to create general diſobedience. Lewis XV. ſaw with indignation, that his ſubjects, under pretence of fidelity and ſubmiſſion, ſhould rebel againſt his orders. If this Prince had been as abſolute as Lewis XIV. a civil war would have deſolated France ; but the goodneſs of his ſoul, and that gentleneſs which characterizes him, made him prefer the general peace of his kingdom to the gratification of his own particular revenge. Had he but ſpoke, thoſe who oppoſed him would have been exterminated.

The kings of France had formerly but very little power ; but ſince they have had three hundred thouſand men at their command, who only wait for orders to obey their will, they can do every thing. A mandate from Lewis XV. to two or three regiments, would have been ſufficient to have made the parliament return to their duty. But this Prince was an enemy to every thing that carried with it the appearance of violence. He would be obeyed ; but then only by gentleneſs and moderation. Miniſters, who are uſually as jealous of the royal authority as the King himſelf, pretended that this very moderation was the ſource of all the diſorders that diſturbed the ſtate.

These ministers exhorted me to induce the King to have fortitude. They represented to me the dangerous consequences that would result to the state, by leaving the disobedience of the parliament unpunished. Those who were in the interest of this body remonstrated to me on their part, the danger of keeping in exile the depository tribunal of justice, and who alone could administer it: a tribunal that were meritorious for their very resistance, as it was the strongest conviction of their zeal for the glory of the King, and the happiness of the people, &c.

If I had followed my inclination, I should have insisted upon the royal chamber's being sustained, to the exclusion of the parliament; but I knew the King's heart. I knew that his natural goodness would prevail over his resolution.

The Duke of Richelieu was ever intriguing with the King, and had gained an ascendant over him. This courtier always sought for opportunities of conversing with the Prince in private, and of obtaining his good graces. I had frequently opposed his designs, and this had determined him to make one great effort for engrossing the King's favour. This conduct displeased me, and as he always renewed the attack, *My Lord*, said I to him one day in the presence of the King, *I have received letters from Languedoc, by which I am informed, that your presence is there required. I advise you to set out for Montpellier, which is in your department; for his Majesty will not have any bishops or governor of that province at Paris.* The courtier understood my meaning. He set out a few days after for Bourdeaux, and I seldom saw him upon his return.

The Duchess de Talard, governess to the children of France, being lately dead; the King said to me, *Who shall we entrust with the Dauphin's young family?* Sire, I replied, Madam Talard was pos-

essed

possessed of great merit, which makes it difficult to supply
 “ her place. I have thought upon all the women of
 “ France, and I do not know of any but the Coun-
 “ tesses de Marsan, who is capable of succeeding
 “ her. ”

She was appointed, and this lady, who was acquainted with my interposition in her favour, made me her acknowledgment. This preference I had given her, created me many enemies. All the ladies that were excluded, considered me as the cause of their exclusion : thus is a King's favourite loaded with public hatred. When there is a vacancy, she can ask it only for one person, and most frequently all those who laid claim to it, become the enemies of her that disposed of it.

The birth of the Duke of Aquitaine had diffused universal joy at court ; and his death immersed the royal family again in melancholy—tears succeeded joy—but the subject was soon forgot. Had it not been for the funeral pomp, which lasted several days, he probably would have been no more thought of after the first. The spectacle of his death made tears to flow ; without these obsequies, his loss would scarce have been mentioned. The court was still engaged in curbing the strides of the parliament and the Chatelet. This affair filled the state with edicts. A politician said, “ that if the government had given
 “ the same attention to the other branches of the
 “ administration, France would have been the best
 “ regulated kingdom in Europe. ”

This attention did not, however, restore order ; no one of the parties would yield to the other.

At length this great affair, by which France had been so much disturbed, and given foreign nations so much scope for satire, was terminated just as it should have been terminated ; that is to say, by the obstinacy of the parliament, and the weariness of the King. Lewis XV. (I cannot too often repeat
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it in these Memoirs) is a good Prince ; his tender and sympathising soul is not of the number of those that are irritated by resistance.

The self-love of Kings who will be absolute, creates disorders, which usually swallow up both states and politics. The prince, who was desirous of maintaining the peace of his kingdom, and advancing the happiness of his people, yielded, the very instant he saw that, by opposing his parliament, a general revolution might be dreaded.

The King's conduct in this respect, was by many greatly censured ; he was accused of weakness. Perhaps he was animated only by respect. The shaft of ridicule began to fly ; for kings of France, as absolute as they may be, are not exempted from their attacks. A prince of the blood thus expressed himself before several courtiers. " I always said, gentlemen, that the mountain in labour would bring forth nothing but a mouse. "

M. de Maupeou had a private audience of the King at Compeigne, where all the preliminary articles of peace were signed. The monarch declared to him, that he should recal the letters de cachet, and that the parliament might return to Paris, where the general treaty of reconciliation was to be framed.

The triumph was too great not to be accompanied with glory. The president immediately proclaimed his victory. He dispatched a courier to every court in the Kingdom, and gave intelligence to his brethren, who arrived at Paris in triumph. Although this peace restored tranquillity at Versailles, which influenced the happiness of my life ; yet I acknowledge, my indignation was kindled to see the lawyers thus get the better of the King's first resolutions. I was acquainted with their obstinacy, and this alone set me against them.

Reports were spread that I was the instrument of
this

this reconciliation, and that the King yielded only at my intercession ; but this was rumoured like an infinite number of other things, which had no more foundation. I acknowledge, that I ardently wished that these parliamentary disputes were at an end ; but if I considered my own tranquillity, I did not forget the glory of the King. I several times scolded M. de Maupeou, in the minister's presence, for the little deference he paid to his master's orders, and for the formal disobedience of his body. He constantly replied, with that gravity which is common to those who are at the head of an assembly, that he and his brethren were the most submissive subjects of the state ; and this answer irritated me still more.

The King desired to see this magistrate once more before an entire reconciliation took place. He received M. de Maupeou with that politeness that is so natural to him, and which gains him the hearts of all those who approach him.

“ My intention, Sir, (said the King to him) is, that my parliament should resume their functions in the capital : I hope I shall have no farther occasion to complain of them ; and that the goodness with which I treat them, will engage them to fulfil their duty for the future, with that zeal which they owe to my service, and a ready submission to my orders. ”

The Queen was desirous of having her share in the event ; the president waited upon her. “ I conceive the most perfect joy, said this Princess, at the King's restoring the parliament of Paris to their ancient functions. I have been greatly affected at the interruption that has occurred ; and it is with satisfaction I assure you of my esteem for that body. ”

Those who determine every thing at court and in the city, thought the King had shewn too much weakness upon this occasion ; that he should either

not have carried things so far, or else pursued them still farther. But those who determined in this manner, could they themselves have communicated to the government that foresight that is necessary to be acquainted with events before they happen? The first disputes that arose between the court and the parliament were so trifling, that to have judged of them by the usual course of things, they could not have occasioned the least disturbance in the state. The minds of people were insensibly irritated.

Fresh circumstances having changed the state of the question, they insensibly wandered from the first principles, and then each party were carried beyond their goal. The King often told me, at the very time that he was thundering forth edicts against the parliament, that if he had known things would have been carried to such a length, he would have yielded at first.

The recal of the parliament had great influence over us. From that moment the King became gayer than usual; our conversation was lively and joyous. "Sire, I said to the King, if you have any subject of complaint against your parliament, I entreat you not to let them remain long in exile; for I have too much at stake in the misunderstanding and much to gain by a reconciliation."

The death of the Marquis de S. Contest, which happened at the time of the recal of the great chamber, occasioned a vacancy in the ministry. I have in another place spoke of the talents and character of this minister; it was said of him that he was fond of peace, because he did not know how to conduct a war. By his death there was a post to be filled in the department of foreign affairs. There were many candidates, but few ministers. The war had disposed every one's genius for arms. Few but the first clerks in offices applied themselves to business. The King sought about him, and I enquired of all those who surrounded

ſurrounded me, without finding what the ſtate wanted. “ Sire, I ſaid to the monarch, till ſuch
“ time as ſome happy diſcovery can be made, I ad-
“ viſe your Majeſty to appoint M. Rouillé to ſupply
“ the place.”

All France was aſtoniſhed at this choice, and M. Rouillé himſelf as much as all France.

Many conſiderations induced me to make this determination in his favour.

He was to be raiſed or lowered at will. M. de Belleiſle ſaid, that he might be created King of France, and afterwards reduced to a clerk of the navy or war office. He had none of thoſe brilliant qualities which attract admiration ; but he was endued with probity, and a miniſter was then wanted who was an honeſt man.

Many placemen had been guilty of malverſation ; ſome upright perſon was required to remove the diſorders of the ſtate. I heard a very honeſt man ſay, that the office of foreign affairs required a chief who had more equity than ſenſe, and more probity than knowledge. He ſaid, that the northern nations, with whom this miniſter was continually engaged, have the character of frankneſs, which they like to find in thoſe with whom they are concerned. This ſame perſon proved that all, or the greater part of the wars between France and Germany, derived their ſource from the corruption of this miniſter.

The department of the marine was given to M. de Machault ; he was already keeper of the ſeals, and comptroller-general. Many perſons had ſpoken to me of him ; but his qualifications alone determined me in his favour. He had great penetration, and was very proper to fill the poſt he held ; I could have wiſhed that he had poſſeſſed not quite ſo much ambition ; for this paſſion, when it has no bounds, makes the moſt enlightened geniuses commit many errors. Ingratitude is moſt conſtantly its attendant,

and I look upon a man who is wanting in sentiments of acknowledgment, as a monster in nature.

The comptrollership of the finances was given to M. Moreau de Seychelles. These changes puzzled the public, and gave a wide field for speculation. Those who aspired to these places, thought that the persons to whom the preference had been given did not deserve them. They were first murmured at, and then courted. M. de Machault in giving up the finances for the marine had degenerated. It was said of this minister, *that he had left a golden post for a wooden one.*

I acknowledge that I would have induced the King to have placed at the head of these two first departments in the kingdom, two men of superior genius to those who were lately invested with them; but where were they to be found? Marshal Saxe said before he died, “that a ministerial school and not a military school should be established; he pretended that all Frenchmen were born soldiers, and that no one came into the world with the qualities of a minister.”

The officers of the navy had for a long time complained that they did not enjoy the same honours as those of the land-forces. They underwent more fatigue, and equally exposed their lives; it was therefore unjust not to allow them the same prerogatives. Lewis XIV. who had done a great deal for the French navy, had not yet done enough. I interested myself in its favour, and only seconded the King's good intentions: he instituted a great cross of St. Lewis, with three commanders, the orders of which were to be distributed according to the rank and merit of sea-officers.

The joy that sprung from the reconciliation of the court and parliament, was succeeded by greater. The Dauphiness brought forth a Duke of Berry. The satisfaction the King received from the increase of

of his royal family, was unparalleled. Each new heir filled him with happinefs. I may fay, that the fortnight following thefe two events, was the moft agreeable period of my life whilft I was at Verfailles.

In the mean while the parliament was received at Paris with demonftrations of joy, rather infulting the court; all the avenues to the palace were illuminated, bonfires blazed, and the bells were rung. The King was difpleafed; but M. de Maupeou answered him, that none of his body had any hand in thefe rejoicings—and this fhould have rendered them the more fufpected.

Edicts had been created for eftablifhing a royal chamber of juftice; others were now iffued for fuppreffing it: whereupon one of the members faid, “ that it was not worth while to make a court-gown for fo fhort a time; and that if he had known that the royal chamber would have been revoked fo foon, he would have bought neither wig nor band; but would have judged the criminals with a fword by his fide.”

The King’s letters-patent upon the return of the parliament, are worthy of being handed down to pofterity. Lewis XV. there fpeaks like a mafter to a court who had oppofed him, becaufe they had confidered themfelves as abfolute, and whole frefh convocation was a manifef proof of their difobedience. The King expreffed himfelf in this manner.

“ The refolution which the officers of our parliament took on the fifth of May, laft year, of difcontinuing the adminiftration of juftice to our fubjects, which they fhould perform from us; their refufal of refuming their functions, which form an indifpenfable duty of the functions of their ftate, and which they have engaged by the fanc- tity of oath to perform, compelled us to testify to them our difpleafure at their conduct: the pre- text they gave for difcontinuing their ufual fervice

“ was, a kind of additional fault on their part, the
 “ less excusable, as they could not doubt of the in-
 “ tentions which we had, and by which we con-
 “ stantly abide, of listening to what our parliament
 “ might have to represent to us, for the good of our
 “ service and that of our subjects; and not being
 “ ignorant that we were informed by their arrets,
 “ of the object of their remonstrances, they must
 “ have acknowledged that they had brought upon
 “ themselves the refusal which we gave to hearing
 “ those repeated remonstrances. But after having
 “ for a time made them feel the effects of our dis-
 “ pleasure, we have willingly listened to the dictates
 “ of our clemency, and we have recalled to our
 “ good city of Paris, the officers of our parliament.
 “ Being, nevertheless, ever attentive to the dissipat-
 “ ing of those divisions, which have for some time
 “ arisen, the consequences of which have appeared
 “ deserving of our greatest attention, we have taken
 “ the most effectual measures for procuring hence-
 “ forward public tranquillity; and in hopes that our
 “ parliament, earnestly striving, by ready obedience
 “ and redoubled assiduity, to repair the injury our
 “ subjects may have sustained, will upon every oc-
 “ casion testify their submission and fidelity to us, by
 “ conforming themselves to the wisdom of those de-
 “ signs which animate us, we have resolved to re-
 “ assemble them at Paris, to signify to them our
 “ intentions.

“ Urged by these motives and others, with the
 “ advice of our council, and our certain knowledge,
 “ full power and royal authority, we have by these
 “ presents, signed with our hand, ordered, and do
 “ order all and every one of our officers of our par-
 “ liament to reassume their usual functions, in our
 “ good city of Paris, notwithstanding any thing to
 “ the contrary; and to administer justice to our sub-
 “ jects without delay or interruption, according to
 “ the

“ the laws and the duties of their posts ; and being
 “ sensible that the silence imposed for so many years,
 “ upon matters that cannot be agitated, without
 “ being equally prejudicial to the advantage of religion and to that of the state, is the most proper
 “ means of securing the public peace and tranquillity ; we enjoin our parliament to pay attention,
 “ that there be nothing on any side attacked, attempted, or innovated, that may be contrary to
 “ this silence, and to the peace which we desire
 “ should reign in our dominions ; ordering them to
 “ proceed against the offenders agreeable to the laws
 “ and ordonances. And, moreover, to contribute
 “ to the pacifying of turbulent minds, and have what
 “ is past forgotten ; we will and expect, that all
 “ proceedings and prosecutions, that may have been
 “ carried on, and the definitive sentences that may
 “ have been pronounced for contumacy, from the
 “ beginning, and on account of the late troubles,
 “ till the date of these presents, shall remain without any consequence or effect, without injuring,
 “ however, the definitive judgments that may have
 “ been contradictorily given without appeal ; provided always, that the parliament against whom
 “ they may have been given, may have recourse to
 “ such legal methods as remain, if such there be,”
 &c. &c.

We were told at Versailles, that this declaration met with many difficulties from the great chamber. Marshal Belleisle said to the King upon this occasion,
 “ If your parliament after their exile, do not register
 “ your letters patent, they must be banished out of
 “ the kingdom,” &c. A courtier, on the other hand, said, he should be very much surpris'd if they did register them. His reason for being of this opinion, was, that when too much respect is paid to a body, they naturally abuse it. The declaration was
 “ never-

nevertheless registered, but with the usual restrictions and distinctions.

After the parliament's recall, it was necessary that they should pay a compliment to the King, and M. de Maupeou pronounced it. He acquitted himself like a subtle and skilful magistrate, who, in cautiously treating the prerogatives of the crown, displayed those of his own body. This second piece deserves also to be handed down to posterity. It was as follows.

SIRE,

" The greatest misfortune that can befall faithful subjects is, doubtless, to incur their sovereign's disgrace.

" This trial, which your parliament has lately made, plunged them into such excess of grief, as cannot better be described to your Majesty, than by the striking testimony which we give you, in respectfully acknowledging it.

" The union, Sire, which, through your goodness, has taken place amongst those members, who were for a long time dispersed, has enabled us to testify our submission to your orders, and our love to your sacred person.

" Can any thing be more worthy of the best of Princes, than to stretch out a paternal hand to the magistrates, who were totally incapable of giving him fresh proofs of the zeal, with which they are animated for his service, and enable them to lay before him the motives which induced them to take, as may be said, against their inclinations, such steps as have been so unfortunate as to displease him?

" What glory, Sire, will ever be comparable to yours! After having so often conquered your enemies in person your sole occupation, in the height of peace, is the happiness of your people.

" You

“ You love truth, and you endeavour to be acquainted with it ; truth reaches even you, without any other aid than your own understanding : and it is no sooner known to you than it enjoys all its prerogatives.

“ Truth alone made you sensible how much the dispersion of all the members of a parliament is a dangerous example, by reason of the blow it levels at all the fundamental laws of the kingdom ; and by the immensity of the evils that are derived from it.

“ It was this same truth that made you acquainted with the feelings of your parliament, at the dread of being for ever banished from your presence, by your refusing to receive their remonstrances, upon the mere view of the nature of the objects that must have been introduced into these important representations.

“ In a word, it was this truth that engaged you to remove their fears with that goodness which will transmit to future ages the true love which you have for subjects, whose interests, you know are inseparable from your own.

“ You have gone still farther ; you have extended the wisdom of your designs throughout your whole kingdom, by taking the unshakeable resolution of maintaining therein that order and tranquillity upon which its splendor depends. It is in order to stop those divisions, the dangerous consequences whereof you are acquainted with, that you have commanded the most profound silence to be kept with regard to matters, which cannot be discussed without being prejudicial to religion, and the happiness of the state.

“ Ah ! Sir, how could your parliament have refrained from consecrating, by registering, so salutary a law, notwithstanding the pungent grief with which they were afflicted upon reading the
“ preamble

" preamble to this law ? Yes, Sire, we dare make
 " this representation to you ; your parliament, in
 " all the unhappy circumstances in which they have
 " found themselves, have, by giving the preference
 " to public affairs before private ones, only done
 " what was exacted from them by the duties of
 " their station, and the sacred observance of their
 " oath.

" Let us be allowed to tell you, Sire, that your
 " parliament desires nothing so ardently, as to know
 " how fully to convince you of the strength and
 " extent of their duty. They can do nothing of
 " themselves : they exercise that portion of authority
 " you have entrusted them with ; and the only ob-
 " ject to which all their efforts tend, shall be to
 " make themselves agreeable to your Majesty, and
 " to fulfil their duty : a duty, Sire, that compels
 " them incessantly to watch over the preservation
 " of that precious deposit of authority which you
 " hold from the Almighty, and which should be
 " transmitted in all its purity to your most remote
 " posterity.

" How happy is it for us, to see this supreme
 " power in the hands of a Prince, who governs with
 " such wisdom and moderation, as must gain him
 " all hearts ; and who knows that the real links which
 " unite Frenchmen to their Sovereign, are those of
 " love.

" So deeply, Sire, is it graven in our souls, that
 " we protest to you, in the name of all the magis-
 " trates that compose your parliament, that they
 " will be always ready to sacrifice what is the most
 " dear and precious to them, as soon as the interest
 " of your glory is concerned, and to set an example
 " to your subjects of the fidelity and obedience
 " they owe to the Sovereign will."

The bishops of France pretended that this was a
 stroke of the most arrogant modesty that had ap-
 peared

peared this century. Courtiers found many contradictions in it. The first president declared, in the name of his body, that the authority exercised by the parliament was a deposit entrusted with them by the King; how then, it was said, could this trust confer to this body such independence as extends to opposing the will of the Prince?

Towards the close of this discourse, we find an insult offered to the crown. This body, who had manifestly opposed the King's orders, and who had preferred exile to submission, say, that they will always be found ready to set an example of obedience. It was said, that an example of *obedience* was never before given by *disobedience*.

Notwithstanding this reconciliation, there was still some animosity remaining on both sides. For my part, I was delighted that this affair was terminated. I have frequently repeated in these Memoirs, that it troubled the King, and this was sufficient for me to desire a reconciliation.

To the parliamentary quarrels succeeded political affairs. The English were making great warlike preparations; the last peace had not removed all difficulties. The plenipotentiaries were more eager to put an end to battles, than to prevent fresh bloodshed.

Marshal Noailles had often told me, that the negociators at a congress have only one point in view, which is to sign the treaty. Upon this they exhaust all their genius, so that they have not the faculty of foresight remaining.

The Duke of Mirepoix came from London to receive the King's orders. This Minister, in speaking to his Majesty of the preparations that the English were making, assured him, "That Great Britain had no thoughts of interrupting the peace." *Whence comes it then*, said the King, *that they are arming as if they wanted to be at war?*

"Sire,

“ Sire, answered the Duke, it is a maxim with
 “ the English, to avail themselves of the tranquil-
 “ lity of Europe, to increase their forces.”

This Minister, who was besides an honest man, believed what he said. French emissaries in London had written to court, that the English deceived him, that he let himself be imposed upon by appearances, and that the cabinet of St. James's concealed their views and designs from him.

I often desired the King to appoint another Ambassador for the court of London : but he was afraid of disobl'ging this Lord, who, moreover, did honour to his employment, by his grandeur and magnificence.

Lewis XV. has such a beneficent soul, that he cannot resolve upon withdrawing his friendship from those whom he has once honoured with his confidence, unless he is convinced of some capital fault that compels him to it.

Versailles became daily more and more melancholy ; the unhappy affairs of the clergy, the bishops, and the parliament, spread a gloomy air over all those who frequented court.

To relieve the King from the languid state into which these disputes had brought him, I had Bellevue built. It was a square pavilion, where the eye discovered more taste than magnificence : the King complimented me upon it. He often repaired thither. I had embellished this spot with simple works, and art was concealed behind nature, which prevented its discovery,

The gardens and groves were delightful. Lewis XV. often said to me, that he was suffocated at Compeigne, at Fontainbleau, and at Marli ; but that he breathed at Bellevue. We divided our time between walking and gardening, with other rural amusements. Flowers composed part of the plan
 of

of our recreations, and I had some brought from every part of the world.

When the King entered this house, he laid aside that air of Majesty which regal pageantry obliged him to keep up elsewhere. I was always a gainer by this metamorphosis, as it rendered him gayer than usual; and his satisfaction, which increased mine, spread an air of joy over our conversation. There was, besides, another difference, which was, that at Bellevue the King talked to me of his taste, of his appetites, and other things that tended to his pleasure; whereas at Versailles he never entertained me with any thing but disputes upon religion, the refusal of sacraments, or other matters, which were far from being agreeable to him.

This retreat gave him frequent occasion to speak of the advantages that accompanied private life. He discovered in it charms, that the perplexity of public business, and the tumults of the throne, made him the more sensible of.

The King, desirous of giving me marks of his particular protection, created the estate of Marigni, which belonged to my brother, into a marquissate. I thanked him for this favour, which appeared to me the greater, as Vandiere had not done any thing yet to deserve it.

Let us return to general affairs. America, which was upon the point of exciting universal war, began already to display some sparks of that blaze which was to inflame Europe. The English made the first complaints. The Earl of Albemarle represented to the court of France, that the French in Canada committed hostilities, contrary to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The court of France replied, that they were ignorant of such proceedings: but that to prevent any misunderstanding, they would send orders to suppress these first differences, on condition that the
English

English would, on their side, act in the same manner. Both nations promised, but neither kept their word. They were mutually deceived, as most usually happens upon these occasions.

I remember that when the English made these first complaints to our court, a foreign minister said to me, that the cabinet of Versailles and that of St. James's knew very well they were going to war; but that they would not say so, to make the thing more mysterious.

“ In that case, Sir, said I to him, the King is not in the secret, for he does not know a syllable about this war which you foretel.” In fact, Lewis was quite ignorant that he was at the eve of engaging in a long succession of sieges and battles. He was well informed of the motives which induced the English to complain: but he had not been acquainted with their resolution of having recourse to arms.

Whilst the misunderstandings in the new world were the subjects of conversation, the religious war still continued in the kingdom. The King, who, in order to restore tranquillity to the state, had done every thing that was desired of him, had the mortification to find that nothing was done that he desired. He was obliged to exile the Archbishop of Paris. I was witness to the affliction he was under, from the necessity of giving this order. He had endeavoured to bring this Prelate back to his duty, by all the methods which his goodness, and his beneficent soul, could suggest to him; and it was not till after he had in vain essayed them, that he resolved upon sending him to Conflans.

The conduct of this Archbishop, who had openly disobeyed his Sovereign's orders, irritated the courtiers to that degree, that the Monarch was advised by several of them to have him seized by the military power, and to keep him closely confined: but Lewis

XV. was of too gentle a disposition to put such rigorous counsel into execution. I have often heard him say, that Kings should punish, but never think of revenge. He entrusted the letter de cachet to one of his ministers, with orders to signify it to the Archbishop as privately as possible.

The King found himself again obliged to banish the bishops of Orleans and Troyes, two prelates whose sentiments were too conformable to those of the Archbishop of Paris. These two might be considered as the fire-brands of the kingdom. They prepared the people's minds for disobedience, in showing themselves rebels to their Prince's orders. One of these, from the extremity of his exile, insulted the court and the state by a mandate, wherein he forbade all his diocesans to have recourse, in the case of administration, to any other priests than those whom he prescribed; and it was necessary that these priests should be vicars, or curates. This was constraining the extent of priesthood; but as soon as the episcopal authority is the least attacked, the Princes of the church are always ready to undertake any thing. Marshal Saxe said, "That if God were to limit the power of bishops in France, these bishops would, in turn, allot bounds to the power of God."

The exile of the Archbishop of Paris silenced his most considerable partizans; but it did not finish the quarrel.

The minister of the marine laid before the King a list of his navy: it consisted of sixty-six ships of the line, and thirty frigates. A politician of the North said, that this was not sufficient to make head against the English; and he prophesied, at that time, that if we did not avoid going to war, the French navy would be totally destroyed when we made peace. I repeated these words to several of our ministers, who answered, that this politician was unacquainted with marine prophecies. France has long since been deprived

prived of those statesmen whose penetrating genius could unravel the most distant events. We at present go mechanically and habitually to work, in the track we are compelled to follow. Marshal Saxe made use of a very singular expression ; he said, that *our government daily performed their day's work.*

The naval force was kept in readiness : seamen were enrolled ; but able sea officers were wanting. France has seldom had any good ones. Lewis XIV. formed some but they expired with his reign.

The spirit of party and animosity was still kept up at court. The cabal who strove to destroy me, increased with my favour. Envy displayed all the latent springs that human wickedness could suggest. All who surrounded the Prince, endeavoured to deprive me of his confidence.

Amongst those who conspired against me, there were people who were indebted to me for their fortune, and for whom I constantly interested myself. I pointed them out to the King. Lewis XV. detests ingratitude ; these dark proceedings produced a very contrary effect to what my enemies had proposed. The King paid me more attention than before and despised those the more who would have deceived him. I shall not repeat here the low and scandalous artifices that courtiers, and even some ambitious women, put in practice to surprize the Monarch's heart. A detail of these intrigues is unworthy of history, and I have no design of transmitting to posterity the artifices of cabals, which relate to no one but myself.

M. Moreau de Seychelles, comptroller-general of the finances, was of service to the state. He was very assiduous in regulating the finances. I made the King take notice of him, and immediately this Prince made him minister of state. He had his enemies at court : it was said that he had done nothing yet to deserve that post, and that fortune having so precipi-

precipitately forced his elevation, he would never advance above half way to favour.

When he came to court, to return the King thanks, I said to him, " Sir, many people pretend to foretel the destiny of your administration, convince all France that they are false prophets. "

The Duke of Mirepoix, who had always assured the court, that the English had no thoughts of breaking the treaty of peace, was at length obliged to write that they prepared for war. France hastily put herself into a state of defence, without knowing precisely whether she was coming to blows. Orders were dispatched from the office of the marine to all the ports and harbours. The ships that were finished were launched, and the others kept ready to sail on the first notice.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was, nevertheless, still negotiating at Paris. This business was no longer transacted with Lord Albemarle ; he was dead. The interests of Great Britain were in the hands of a secretary of embassy, who gave vague replies to the questions that were put to him, upon the preparations his court was making.

Some politicians have assured us, that if Lord Albemarle had lived, the war, which afterwards rent the two nations, would never have taken place. It has been said that minister, who had great weight with George the Second, was that time connected with a woman of pleasure at Paris, whom he would not part with. This perhaps is only surmise, destitute of foundation ; but after all, this would not have been the first time that the amours of a courtesan have influenced the affairs of Europe.

Upon the arrival of the dispatches from London, a great council was held at Versailles, and the King expressed himself in the following manner to his minister.

" I am resolved I will not begin the war, and if the English break the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle,
" Europe,

“ Europe, who shall be witness to my moderation,
 “ shall see that they are the aggressors. ”

M. de Maillebois, the father, said publicly at court, that it were better to prevent them than to give them an opportunity of doing it.

The King's moderation met with no advocates but those whose interest it was to avoid sieges and battles ; for every one was concerned in the event according to his particular views of interest. Military people wanted war, merchants and financiers wished for peace.

The court of London sent my Lord Hertford to Paris, to replace the Earl of Albemarle. This Ambassador was compared to a herald at arms : it was said that he was come to declare war against France. He spoke, in fact, in such a tone, as testified that every thing was ready in England to invade America. M. Rouille was so intimidated, that he said to the King : “ Sire, Great Britain must have resolved to declare “ war, for her Ambassador talks in such a stile, as “ if the English were ready to open the campaign. ”

Upon the first report of the preparations of an armament, the military men, who, since the last campaigns in Flanders, had deserted Versailles, came in shoals to make their court to me. All my apartments were lined with officers, who, in intreating my interest to recommend them to the Prince, set forth their talents in the military art.

The Bishops war, nevertheless, still continued. The Archbishop of Paris, banished to Conflans, was not thereby rendered more submissive. He, from the extremity of his exile, braved the court and the city. He was removed to *Lagny sur Maine*, a little town that had neither the grandeur nor magnificence of Conflans. This retreat, by diminishing his episcopal pomp, no way changed his character, which remained inflexible. The other rebellious bishops were treated with more severity : but these lettres de cachet had a very opposite effect to what was intended.

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They served only to make them more important in the eyes of their partizans, which increafed their arrogance.

A courtier faid to the King, that a feminary fhould be built at Rome, to which fhould be fent all the French bifhops who rebelled againft his orders, with an eftablifhment of 100 Roman crowns per head, for fupporting their grandeur.

It is certain that too much refpect was paid to thefe people ; and the very chaftifements that were inflicted on them, when they fwerved from their duty, were tempered with fo much confideration, as to prevent their returning to it.

The bifhops having nothing to do in their exile but to write, and being unable to employ any other arms than their pens, France was deluged with letters and mandates. Thefe were fo many manifeftoes againft the royal authority. The King was often advifed to hang the Printers, who were inftrumental in the circulation of thefe feditious papers ; but Lewis XV. would never have recourfe to thofe violent methods.

The Englifh, at length, explained themfelves with refpect to their warlike preparations, the news of which Fame had trumpeted throughout Europe. They declared to the government, that the French in Canada had made incurfions upon lands under the dominion of Great Britain, and that England was not inclined to fuffer fuch ufurpations. We have feen that the two crowns, when peace was concluded, left the decifion of this affair to commiffaries. Count de Argenfon had forefeen, at firft, that thefe commiffaries would completely ruin the interefts of the two courts. “ Sir, faid he, when two powers, “ with arms in hand, cannot agree upon certain “ differences, it is impoffible for individuals to re- “ concile them.”

Never-

Nevertheless, the English council did not say that they should declare war, but only that they were discontented with the French in America.

This declaration afflicted the King, who did not desire war. The national debts were not yet paid, the same imposts still subsisted as before, the people were always oppressed ; so that a new war must overwhelm them. Lewis XV. spoke to me of the misfortune that threatened France, in such a manner as persuaded me he was sensibly affected. I was a witness to his uneasiness upon this account ; and it is but justice, which I owe this Prince, to say he was penetrated with grief upon the occasion. This was not the case with the ministers and military courtiers, who were in hopes to advance their fortune by means of this new revolution. The difficulty was not to undertake the war, but to find generals to carry it on.

Marshal Saxe, the terror of France's enemies, and in whom the troops placed an implicit confidence, was dead. Of all the officers who had served under him, there was not any one who furnished the same hopes of his abilities. They had courage and experience : but these were not sufficient ; for I have heard it said, that to form a hero, requires an assortment of qualities, which are seldom found in the same man.

Amongst the generals who had served in the late wars, Marshal Belleisle was the most desirous of commanding in chief ; but besides his never having been a good general, his capacity was greatly impaired. He expressed himself in diffuse terms, and was very verbose. It was said of him at court, that of all the genius that had elevated him to the pinnacle of greatness, he retained nothing but loquacity. The state was now threatened with three different wars, two of which were declared. That of the Bull, as it was called, which was upon the point

of

of caufing a revolution in the ftate : that of the Barbarians, who, notwithstanding the faith of treaties, interrupted the trade of the nation ; and that of the Englifh, who were ready to give us battle.

A man of wit, who was told that the Englifh were going to be our foes, faid, *God be praifed, the bishops quarrel is now at an end, for thofe people are never at war but in time of peace.*

The Archbishop of Paris, who was ftill exiled, and ftill obftinate, wrote a letter to the King in a ftile truly original, and without example fince the foundation of the monarchy. He faid to the King, in very formal terms, that “ His power was fuperior to that of the Sovereign, in matters relative to the adminiftration which God hath entrusted him with ; that his duty was that of conducting his flock ; that he acknowledged no other upon earth ; finally, he would not, nor could not, retract from the firft fteps he had taken ; that thefe were his laft sentiments, which would continue always the fame to the grave, &c. &c.”

This was a period diftinguifhable for difobedience. The clergy gloried in rebelling againft the orders of the King. This obftinate difpofition had made its way into the provinces. The deputy of Languedoc related to the King an event that happened at Montpellier, which pointed out to this Prince the neceffity of ftopping the progrefs of fuch abufes. This man faid, that the wife of a counfellor of that city, who had refufed to receive the Bull, and whose life was in danger, requested the curate of her parifh to adminifter the facraments to her. Upon her firft request, the curate and four vicars fled. Application was made to the other parifhes, but it was found that all the clergy who adminiftered had deferted. The chief juftice then ordered an independent prieft, and who was not belonging to any church, to adminifter to the Lady. This ecclefiaftic thought it was his

duty to obey ; but he had observed that the host had accompanied the priests in their retreat. He did not find a single wafer in the tabernacles of the different churches of the city. The curates and the secondaries had eat them all before their departure. He consecrated one : but this was not sufficient ; it must be administered. A general insurrection was feared. The commander of the place was obliged to put the garrison under arms, and appoint guards for the conducting of the host in safety to the sick Lady's house.

Such scenes as these, in a city full of Protestants, made the Romish religion become a subject of public derision. The King was greatly affected at it, though he would not yet resolve to use violent remedies.

I have said that the King did not desire war ; to prevent which, if it were yet possible, he sent Bussy to Hanover, where George II. was expected. I was not for employing this man, thinking he had not sufficient capacity to succeed in a negociation of this importance ; but Lewis XV. had been prejudiced in his favour.

Bussy's partizans said he spoke with resolution and an absolute tone ; qualities that were looked upon as essential at a free court, where moderation and suppleness are always unsuccessful. But the contrary was the truth. Bussy negotiated badly to prevent the war, and he failed some years after to restore peace ; but I laid it down as a maxim, never to oppose the King's sentiments.

Orders were dispatched to all the commanders in the American colonies, to fit out as many ships as they could, to oppose the designs of the English. I heard Marshal Noailles then say, that troops should have been sent, and not orders.

The death of Marshal Lowendahl, the pupil and companion of Count Saxe, that happened at this time,

time, created sorrow, which in the present circumstances was the more sensibly felt. His military talents had made us conceive hopes that his death destroyed. The conquest of Bergen-op-zoom had acquired him a reputation, from which France might have derived advantages in the war with which she was threatened. I testified my chagrin, upon this occasion, to the King. "You have reason to lament the death of this officer, he replied to me ; he was among the number of those who were most deserving of any confidence. It is in vain for me to seek amongst my subjects, I shall find no one capable of supplying his place."

Lewis XV. who had honoured him during his life-time, was willing to bestow marks of distinction upon him after his death. He was at the expence of his funeral obsequies, and granted pensions to his children of both sexes ; recompences that were due to his merit, and with which the King gratified his heirs. All those who were eclipsed by this general's merit, rejoiced at his death ; none but real patriots lamented it.

Whilst France was employed about the means of supplying the expences of the war, we learnt at Versailles that England found voluntary resources in her subjects for her's. Private persons offered money to such sailors as enrolled themselves in the royal navy, and others engaged to support their families at their own expence during the war, had it continued six lustums.

Certain communities offered free gifts to those who would bear arms against France. I said to Marshal Belleisle, who related these facts to me : "It appears to me, sir, that a people who act in this manner, has the advantage over those who give no money but what they are compelled to part with, for the expences of the war." *That is true,* replied the old Courtier ; *but this same English na-*

tion, who thus voluntarily part with their riches for a war, which they think useful to the state, often lose all their advantages at a peace. A Lord who wants to make his way to the administration by a system of pacification, intrigues with the king, gains his confidence, and has his creatures. These set forth, that sieges and battles ruin the state, that commerce is hurt by them, and that industry perishes. The cabal acquire strength, the candidate minister's party increases, he gains the ascendent, and the peace is signed, at the expence of the nation's blood and treasure.

M. de Mirepoix still continued his negociations at London: he conferred with Sir Thomas Robinson, who gave him hopes; but this was only to gain time: the war was resolved upon. Count D'Argenson often said to the King, that this ambassador should be recalled, as his residence in London only amused the state, and made the French nation ridiculous. The King and council were greatly perplexed; Lewis XV. was not willing that Europe should be able to reproach him with having committed the first hostilities.

Marshal Lowendahl, who before his death was witness to this embarrassment, said publicly at court, that *it was better to attack as a principal, than to be beat as a second.* This counsel was not followed, but we repented of it.

As for me, I was neuter in this great affair. It was reported that I wished for war, to make myself more considerable at court. I had no occasion for either sieges or battles, things constantly destructive to a state, to support my credit with the King. Lewis XV. honoured me with his confidence: all those who had endeavoured to prejudice me had miscarried in their attempt; rank and grandeur had no longer any charms for me: the only ambition I had remaining was the settling of my daughter; but she

was

was not arrived at an age to be married, and I did not doubt that the King would honour her with his protection.

Peace was still the subject of conversation at London and Paris ; but we at length learned that the English had declared war against France in the new world ; the court of Versailles received advice, that Admiral Boscawen had with his fleet taken the *Alcide* man of war, upon the banks of Newfoundland. The manner in which he took this ship aggravated the offence. The *Alcide* should not have been attacked, at the time she was attacked, for she had no fighting orders. It is a custom established amongst all civilized nations, when they declare war, to publish a manifesto, containing the grievances which induce them to have recourse to arms ; and England had not published any such : therefore this step was considered as a real piracy. This was observed to the King, who immediately sent orders to the duke of Mirepoix and Bussy to return to France, without taking leave of the court of England. Henceforward all means of accommodation were suspended.

The King, who had been desirous of avoiding a war before it began, took his measures as soon as he was acquainted with this first act of hostility. His honour would let him no longer put up an affront offered to his flag. He said, upon retiring from the council, “ Madam, war is declared ; the English are my enemies.”

The operations of the war office took place : the armaments by land and sea, the augmentation of the troops, and the means of supporting the army, were taken into consideration.

From this time the King lived more retired, he did not hunt so often, and he debarred himself several diversions which he took before. He conferred regularly with his ministers. Count D’Argenson, with whom he was often locked up, gave him a cir-

cumstantial detail of his land forces, and the naval minister laid before him a similar account of his navy. Lewis XV. made several objections to them concerning the principal points of their administration, to which these chiefs in office were obliged to answer.

The count D'Argenson, whose administration was then the most important, as he was at the head of military affairs, told the King that his troops were in a good state, that military discipline was well enforced, that the French were fond of war, and that we might flatter ourselves with successful campaigns, provided the generals seconded the ardour of the troops, and were not themselves an obstacle to the grandeur of France.

The conferences with the minister of the finances were of a still more intricate nature; there were many ancient debts unpaid, the revenues of the crown were mortgaged, commerce and industry, which had just recovered some little vigour since the peace, were upon the point of returning to their inactive state.

The comptroller-general said to the King, "Sire, the state of things must not be disguised to your Majesty; great springs must be put in motion to maintain the burthen of the war. I have made a calculation from the state of your finances, and they will procure me resources for four years: if at the end of that time peace should not take place, the campaigns cannot be carried on without imposing very oppressive taxes upon your people."

The King, who after this conference paid me a visit, said, *that he had just been conversing with a minister, who was the honestest man in all France; for such I must call him, he added, who has so much probity as to speak freely to his King.*

The

The minister of the war department required an augmentation of 40000 men, which was granted him, and orders were issued accordingly for raising recruits. M. Belleisle told me, that so many men were not necessary for the defence of a handful of barbarians, that this would increase the expences of the state, and only tend to weaken it. He did not foresee that these levies were nothing in comparison of those that were to be afterwards made.

France had not been perfectly secured by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. Her ports were open and defenceless. Upon the commission of the first acts of hostility in America, it was resolved to restore the works at Dunkirk. The prince of Soubise was appointed by the King to see this operation take place : eight thousand troops were allotted him to favour the execution of this design.

Upon the first reports of the revolution in Canada, two successive squadrons were dispatched, of which no news had yet been received. The uncertainty of the success of this small naval armament suspended the grand operations by land.

The council of state could not resolve upon any fixed plan of operations, the members being divided in their opinion. I was a witness to a great part of the diversity of sentiments which then disturbed the court, with respect to this grand affair.

A man of much good sense said, like Marshal Belleisle, “ that great armies were useless ; that land
“ campaigns were not the object, but a sea war ;
“ that the colonies should be put in a state of security which alone could be conquered ; that the plan
“ of the English was not to increase their power in
“ Europe, but to extend their limits in America ;
“ that all their designs tended that way, and that we
“ should direct ours to the same object ; that France
“ was guarantied in Europe by the general balance ;
“ but that there was no system whereby our settle-
“ ments

“ments in the new world were guarantied ; that
 “the crown would lose its influence, when trade
 “would be entirely in the power of the English ;
 “that the British navy was already superior to the
 “navies of all Europe, but that after the loss of
 “Canada and the other parts of the continent of
 “America, it would be the only one in Europe ;
 “that this was the crisis for France, and that if the
 “opportunity was neglected of protecting ourselves
 “from this last attempt, it would never return ;
 “that all other plans of warlike operations should
 “be given up, to pursue that of the colonies, as
 “they interested the general republic ; but that this
 “personally and solely interested France ; that A-
 “merica being once conquered, the whole body of
 “Europe could not restore the equilibrium, because
 “the power of the first states of the continent did
 “not extend to the sea ; that the English in the
 “centre of the christian world, were separated from
 “Christendom ; that they could not be attacked in
 “their own islands ; that nature had secured them
 “from all invasions in Europe, &c.”

The opposite party, on the contrary, said, “that
 “great armies should be raised to oppose the allies
 “of England, who would not fail to form designs
 “in Germany ; that here the capital strokes would
 “be struck ; that the war in America was only
 “the pretext for that which was to be carried on
 “in Europe ; that some troops should be sent to
 “Canada ; but that numerous legions should be
 “raised for Germany ; that we were mistaken if
 “we thought the English limited their enterprizes
 “to America, as it was visible that their designs
 “tended to excite a revolution in the north of Eu-
 “rope ; that the general balance guarantied France
 “no farther than she herself contributed to support
 “a just equilibrium ; that with respect to trade in
 “general, there was no reason to apprehend that
 “England

“ England could engross it, as there were not sufficient materials in that country to compass the design ; that the English were compelled to have recourse to industrious nations, and where the price of labour was not so high ; that universal trade consisted in exchanges, and that a people who should considerably diminish that of other states, would greatly cramp their own ; that with respect to the navy, one could not be immediately formed to balance that of England ; that the expences made upon this account would be endless, as the time was too short and the means too circumscribed ; that the loss of Canada was not certain, the events of war being casual ; that the savage nations loved the French and hated the English ; that they would prefer being exterminated, rather than submit to the British yoke ; lastly, that if Canada should be conquered in this war, it might be retaken in another ; but that if the English united with their allies, should avail themselves of favourable circumstances to gain advantages in Europe, it would be then too late to repair the damage, as the last victories would be guaranteed by new treaties of peace ; whereas in America the barbarous nations in alliance with France, who are unacquainted with the laws of nations, are always ready to create revolutions : in a word, that it was France’s interest to set on foot numerous armies to support her pretensions by land, and to yield for some time the dominion of the sea, &c. &c.”

A third party maintained that both these objects should be attended to : “ We should (said they) prevent the English making conquests in America, and hinder any taking place in Europe. France is sufficiently powerful for this ; she need only manage well her forces ; she will prevail every where ; when those who govern the state unite in

“ one common interest ; that is to say, the glory
 “ of the nation, and the happiness of the people. If
 “ the northern powers of Europe are inclinable to
 “ avail themselves of the misunderstandings in Ame-
 “ rica, we must keep our engagements, and send
 “ 24000 men into Germany. A more numerous
 “ army can only procure us a greater loss without
 “ any advantage. These moderate succours will
 “ enable us to send more considerable assistance to
 “ the new world, to protect our colonies ; the re-
 “ volution in Canada is not a maritime quarrel, it is
 “ a land war. The point is to defend the continent,
 “ and it is only necessary to land troops there ; and
 “ this the English cannot prevent. They have taken
 “ no measures yet to block up the passages ; but if
 “ we do not make haste, we shall be too late ; for
 “ the English, who keep a steady eye upon our ope-
 “ rations, will no sooner find that we do not make
 “ any great preparations by land, than they will be-
 “ gin to make very considerable ones by sea.”

There was also a numerous party inclined for
 peace : the reasons which they alledged, were found-
 ed upon our inability of carrying on the war ; but
 the minds of the people were too much agitated to
 listen to plans of pacification ; each had his schemes
 for pushing his fortune, and private interest always
 prevails over the common weal. Subaltern officers
 who wanted advancement, were desirous of sieges
 and battles. Those who endeavoured to obtain the
 command of armies were desperate advocates for
 war ; and such as would be employed in furnishing
 the necessaries for carrying it on, thought it in-
 dispensable : it is plain from these motives, how
 little the interest of the state was considered.

During this crisis the clergy of France were as-
 sembled ; they deliberated very seriously, whether
 sick people should have the sacraments administered,
 or whether they should die without them. The
 bishops

bishops who had been brought over by the court and the parliament, were of opinion, that they could not be refused this assistance. Those who expected nothing of the King, and who hated the parliament maintained on the contrary, that they should be refused them like heretics. At length, after many debates, they seemed inclinable to leave this great affair to the determination of the Pope.

I learnt this news with pleasure. Benedict XIV. then filled the papal chair. Many persons who had been at Rome, gave me a very favourable opinion of this pontiff. He despised his predecessors, refined policy of turning every thing to their own advantage ; the first steps he took upon his obtaining the pontificate, made me conceive a real esteem for him. He had abolished at Rome those wretched equivocations, which in serving as food for superstition, dishonour the Christian religion. He knew that God sometimes wrought miracles, but that he does not daily alter the course of nature. This prince of the church preferred the title of an honest man to that of a holy one, and this quality raised him above all the Popes that ever existed upon earth. Benedict XIV. had so much understanding and so little prejudice, that his decision could not fail to restore tranquillity to the Gallican church.

The administration of the sacraments was not the only disquisition which engaged the clergy ; the grand affair for which they were convened, and in which the whole body were unanimous, was to deny the authority of the parliaments, or any other body of laymen whatever. Lewis XV. who could not begin the war without oppressing his people, was willing to set them an example of œconomy, by diminishing his household expences. He reduced his equipages, and the number of his hunting horses in both stables. The expences of his little journies were regulated and diminished : it was resolved that
where

there should be no diversions this year at court, and the works of the Louvre were suspended, &c.

The Count D'Argenson said, "that these savings are so small an object, that they will scarce enrich a commissary of stores during the war."

I was myself often inclined to have an eye to oeconomy ; but M. de Belleisle had told me that it was scarce possible to benefit the state by such frugality ; he added, "If it were an evil, it was impossible to remedy it ; but that all those that served the King would enrich themselves ; that a reform would produce no advantage ; that it was better to continue employing the old officers who were already opulent, than to replace them with new ones, who would endeavour to become so."

Neither the council of state nor the warlike preparations deprived me of the King's company, who visited me regularly, and communicated to me his designs and intentions. The resolution he had taken of being revenged of his enemies, gave him an air of satisfaction, which he had not before he had taken it ; his only uneasiness was for his people : he was afraid that the continuance of the war would exhaust them too much.

It was thought necessary to review the troops, and there were three encampments. The prince of Soubise wanted the command of the camp of Hainault : I spoke to the King, and it was granted him. M. de Chevert, and the Marquis de Voyer, in whose favour I also interested myself, obtained the two others.

Though hostilities were begun in America, Lewis XV. would not continue them in Europe. A frigate of the Brest squadron having taken an English frigate, the King immediately ordered it to be released, as he said, *he would not make war in time of peace, and be the first to infringe the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in Europe.*

A general

A general officer, who was in my apartment when the King told me he had just dispatched this order, could not refrain telling him, in my presence, "Permit me, Sire, to represent to your Majesty, that this moderation will no-ways alter the system of the court of London. The English have resolved to fall upon us, and to seize all such ships as they think they have the superiority over : reprisals are necessary, and we should seize all such vessels as are inferior in strength to our's that meet with them."

The sea-officers paid their court regularly to me : for the navy was to have the honour of this war. There was a promotion of officers, and I interested myself in behalf of some, in consequence of the characters that were given me of their capacity and courage.

I know that complaints have often been made in France of my choice of certain persons, as well in the army as in the administration : but those who condemned me were unacquainted with Versailles. Every courtier has a party who cry up their talents and genius. It is impossible to descry real merit through these extravagant eulogiums. All those who are interested in a courtier's advancement, either in the army or in the government, hide his faults, and display his good qualities ; for every man has a favourable side.

The death of Madame, daughter to the Dauphin, created fresh affliction for the King. I have often heard the happiness of Kings extolled, when they are in reality more to be pitied than other men. A citizen has scarce any thing but domestic troubles to afflict him : a Monarch unites family misfortunes with those of the state.

Scarce had Lewis wiped away his tears, before he had news of a battle that was fought in America,
near

near the Ohio, between his troops and those of England, in which General Braddock fell, and where the French gained a compleat victory. The blood that was spilt in this affair, a detail of which may be found in the annals of Europe, closed all avenues to an accommodation. The only measure to be taken in Europe was to be upon the defensive, and this was not taken. The English seized as many merchant-ships in Europe as they met with in both seas. The commanders of these ships had received orders to surrender without making any resistance. I desired the King to explain to me the motive of this policy, and he replied to me as before, *that he would not break treaties, and make war in time of peace.*

The English availed themselves of this moderation; they became absolute masters of the sea, and filled their island with French prisoners.

At the very time that the court of Versailles piqued themselves upon fulfilling their engagements, the court of London reproached us with breaking them. The restoration of the works at Dunkirk was construed into an infraction of these same treaties, for which France sacrificed what power she had remaining at sea. In this manner each government endeavoured to justify their designs; and thus was ambition disguised under every form to obtain its ends.

Marshal Noailles, who was not of opinion that France should let the remainder of her navigation and trade be crushed, to convince all Europe that the English made war like pirates, said, that this external moderation deceived none, that the court of Versailles alone was deceived.

Those who agreed in opinion with the King, pretended that all these captures made without a declaration of war would be restored; but real politicians thought otherwise, and experience has demonstrated, by the event, that these were not deceived.

Repeated

Repeated orders were dispatched to all the sea-ports, and preparations were making for a land-war; but there was not a sufficient fund in the royal treasury to support the extraordinary expences. The Comptroller-general said to the King, "Sire, the farmers-general offer your Majesty money, it should be taken. They will lend the crown sixty-six millions at 4 per cent. the state in its present exigence cannot purchase money at a cheaper rate."

It may, perhaps, be thought that the financiers, affected at the state of France, made this voluntary proposal from a spirit of patriotism; but posterity will know that the same sordid interest which constantly actuates them, incited them to display this generosity. One of the first conditions was, that the lease of the farms should be renewed. They afterwards insisted that there should be no under-farmers; that is to say, that the profits arising from the farms should be no longer divided, and that they should be sole masters of the finances. They also wanted to have the disposal of all the employments in the farms.

It was publicly said in Paris, that I had framed the scheme of this loan. It is true that four farmers-general applied to me, to make the proposal from their body, and that I mentioned it to the King. Lewis XV. had it examined in his council, who approved of it; this is all the share I had in the transaction. Those who imagine that a King of France can raise money by the act of his own private will, are unacquainted with the government. This sum was far from being sufficient to put in motion all the machines of war that were foreseen to be necessary. The King borrowed thirty millions upon the posts at 3 per cent. but even this additional sum was not enough. The King's secretaries, as well of the upper as the inferior college, were taxed, and this

this imposs, the least burthensome perhaps of any, because it fell upon such as purchased their employments through ostentation, produced a supply of forty-five millions.

With this fund, it was incumbent upon us to oppose the designs of the English at sea, and of such powers as were enemies to France by land.

I saw the King as usual. He supped almost every night with me, and communicated to me all his plans and designs. Difficulties did not astonish him. Lewis XV. is slow at resolving, but when he is determined, his resolution is firm. He appeared more gay than usual: perhaps the internal tranquillity of the state greatly contributed towards it; for the broils with the court of England had produced so good an effect at home, that schisms were no longer the subject of conversation. The curates administered to the sick, and thus the clergy and parliament were reconciled.

We learnt at Versailles that George II. who had made a voyage to his Electoral dominions, was returned to London. His presence was there necessary to expedite the military operations. We were at the same time informed, that several councils had been held at Kensington, in which it was resolved to make war. It had already been pursued for some time; and these councils were held only to deliberate upon the means. The English had by this time taken from the French 250 merchantmen, and made upwards of 4000 sailors prisoners of war.

The two nations mutually upbraided each other with the injustice of their proceedings. The English reproached the French with having infringed upon the treaty of peace, and the French openly declared, that the English made war like pirates: and added, that the parliament of England might be compared to the Divan of Constantinople, and George II. to the Dey of Algiers.

The

The Duke of Belleifle laid, that thefe reproaches were carried too far; that there were fufficient grounds for the two nations fighting for five hundred years without declaring war.

Count D'Argenson asked a foreign minifter, in my prefence, *Which of the two parties was the moft equitable?* "They are both unjust, laid the foreign-
" er. France is in the wrong for having made in-
" curfions upon the Britifh dominions in America,
" and for having fortified Dunkirk; and England
" has done amifs by feizing the fhips of this nation,
" and for having made prifoners of war in time of
" peace."

I related this difcourfe to the King, who laid, that moft of the foreign minifters were unacquainted with the origin of the difpute, and that they judged of things only by appearances, or according to the ideas they entertained of their own country.

Thefe private difcourfes no way altered the general operations. The armaments by fea and land continued going on, and we prepared ourfelves for war. The Pope offered his mediation; this was Benedict XIV. The matter might have been referred to him, had it been poffible for him to have negotiated the affair in perfon; but it muft have been entrusted to nuncios, who are afually men as ambitious as they are ignorant, and who are acquainted with no other politics than thofe of the Vatican.

The King of Portugal alfo offered his fervice: but as he was incapable of throwing any weight in the fcale, he occafioned no alteration in the defigns that were formed for purfuing the war.

The duke of Noailles laid, he was furprifed that petty princes without power, fhould think of being the arbiters of the power of the firft ftates in Europe.

I fhall not conceal from pofterity that pacific propofals were made between the two courts; but they
were

were so distant from their respective views, that it may be presumed they were offered only to make the torch of war blaze the more, though the pretext was to extinguish it.

France's demands were great, and the English required too much. This was the method of succeeding in the design that was formed of not agreeing.

In order to increase the troops, and render the armies more numerous, recourse was had to an expedient which was of very little consequence. The invalids, who, by their services and their wounds, had obtained admission into the hospital, were ordered to bear arms and fight the enemies of the state.

A wit said upon this occasion, that this was having recourse to the dead to wage war against the living."

In proportion as the quarrel between France and England increased, Lewis XV. gave me more power. It was imagined in the world, that I was the arbitress of this new revolution: it is true, the King asked my opinion upon many things; but I took care not to be answerable for such events as might give a new bias to affairs in general: I referred him to the council of state, leaving them to share all the blame, if any was incurred.

The ministers saw me more regularly, and the general officers who were desirous of commanding the armies, paid their court to me with remarkable assiduity.

Whilst agreeable news was received from the new world, the court was very uneasy about two squadrons which had set sail for America; but advice came of their being returned to Brest. The King came himself to acquaint me with the news, at which he testified much joy. It was natural to think that the ships which composed these squadrons would fall
into

into the hands of the English, who had sent very considerable fleets to America.

The first advantage the French gained in Canada, produced a second. The Iroquois nation offered to enter into alliance with the French.

The count D'Argenson shewed me the discourse which the deputies of this savage people addressed to M. Vaudreuil, who commanded the King's troops.

" May the Great Spirit preserve the captain of the French and his valiant warriors ! May the extent of their courage be measured by the number of their wounds ! We, whose nations are as ancient as the stars, and the most courageous upon earth, come to offer thee the right arm of our warriors. The black gowns who are amongst us, have taken care to make us acquainted with thy nation, which is the most valiant of any after our own, because they have seen that these warriors might learn from ours what they did not know before. Our nation, who reckon more than ten thousand moons, come then to unite their forces to assist thee, in order to regale our wives and children with the dead bodies of the enemies of the captain of the French. Receive the calumet of peace, and as a mark of joy, give three shouts to the sun, which is risen to enlighten our nations. "

This letter being made public at Versailles, a courtier, who had read it, said to the King : " Sire, we must make an alliance with the Iroquois, for they will eat as many Englishmen as they can find. Those people are so famished with glory, that they devour their conquests. " A few days after the return of the Brest fleets, the King said to me : " The English parliament desire peace, the people of England want war. I shall take no steps to procure the last ; but if it is proposed to me upon honourable terms, I will accept of it. "

M.

M. de Belleisle told me, that no terms would be proposed, and that all the reports that were spread in England, were only designed to amuse France, and surprise the government.

“ Marshal, said I to him, we may possibly be surprised, for it is above a year since we were told that we ought to be so. ”

Whilst warlike preparations were making on every side, the minister often received memorials from individuals, pointing out the object of our first attack.

The French have for some time been greatly addicted to politics. It is pretended that we caught the infection from the English, and that it was communicated to France by the way of Calais. A man of great wit said to me one day upon this head, that since this contagion had spread, an infinite number of people, whose labour and industry might have been very beneficial to the state, became idle spectators. In England this rage is not so dangerous; the citizens engage themselves as well with their own private affairs, as with the administration in general. But in France, when a man gives himself up to politics, he passes his life systematically.

The Count D'Argenson shewed me a memorial, which he had received from an unknown hand, bearing this title, *Important advice to the government.*

“ We should not wage war, said the anonymous author, either in Germany or in America; the English navy is superior to ours: the English will in the end have the advantage over us. In opposing ourselves to their forces, we shall only completely ruin our own.

“ We should take the field with a bold stroke. It should seem for some time past, as if our ministers were paid by the English government, to go into
“ all

“ all the snares that were laid for them. It is only
 “ necessary that the court of London chalk out a
 “ plan, for that of Versailles to follow them. This
 “ bold stroke is to enter into alliance with Spain, and
 “ invade Portugal provisionally. The Portuguese
 “ are allies of the English, and this is a sufficient
 “ plea to conquer them : I say this is sufficient, for
 “ princes have long since thought they had no occa-
 “ sion for a pretext to make war : it was only neces-
 “ sary that an invasion favoured their designs.

“ That kingdom is easy to invade ; Portugal has
 “ neither armies nor officers, for we should not con-
 “ sider as soldiers, a few natives badly disciplined,
 “ who never saw fire, and commanders that never
 “ served. Some months must elapse before the Eng-
 “ lish can send them troops and generals. Lisbon
 “ will be taken before the English fleet can set sail
 “ to defend it.

“ Portugal being once in the hands of the French,
 “ the English will attempt nothing ; or else at the
 “ peace, they will give up every thing.

“ To form a judgment of the importance of this
 “ invasion, the advantages which Great Britain de-
 “ rives from Portugal should be considered.

“ All Europe knows that this kingdom has no
 “ manufactures, and that the English furnish the
 “ Portuguese not only with every thing which pro-
 “ motes their luxury, but even their physical wants.
 “ Forty thousand artizans, in every kind of trade,
 “ are constantly at work for them. Portugal main-
 “ tains forty thousand of King George’s subjects.
 “ These contribute to the support of an equal num-
 “ ber of other citizens ; and as this primitive indus-
 “ try is the source of infinite subordinate species of it,
 “ the interruption given to these manufactures
 “ would occasion a diminution in the general circu-
 “ lation.

“ Eight

“ Eight thousand merchantmen sail every year
 “ from the river Thames to enter the Tagus;
 “ twenty thousand English sailors are therefore sup-
 “ ported by this single branch of commerce.

“ The mines of Brazil produce annually fresh
 “ riches for England, which are the more advan-
 “ tageous, as they furnish that nation with the
 “ means of purchasing alliances, and paying sub-
 “ sidies. It is partly with the gold of Portugal that
 “ Great Britain maintains her fleets, and raises
 “ armies.

“ It is true that the riches of Portugal are in A-
 “ merica, and that the English fleets might possess
 “ themselves of the mines; but the English would
 “ not derive great advantage from this conquest.

“ The extraction of gold is a manufacture that
 “ must be rendered profitable, to draw advantages
 “ from it: and this capacity is not the lot of every
 “ one. The Portuguese, naturally sober, and who
 “ have but few wants, can alone derive these ad-
 “ vantages from it; the English, with whom la-
 “ bour is much dearer, would be losers by it. Great
 “ Britain, instead of being enriched, would be im-
 “ poverished by the mines.

“ It is a general rule, that mines always ruin
 “ their proprietors, as Spain and Portugal evince,
 “ which are continually impoverished in proportion
 “ as their mines become fruitful. The only nations
 “ that are thereby enriched, are those who barter
 “ their industry for the produce.

“ The invasion of Portugal would make a change
 “ in all the systems of Europe. It would cause a
 “ general revolution in cabinets. The face of af-
 “ fairs in Germany would be entirely altered. The
 “ King of Prussia would change his plans. The

“ Belligerant

“ Belligerent powers, who are preparing for a cer-
 “ tain war, would be obliged to carry on another
 “ which would greatly distress many powers.

“ France by this first cast would save great armies,
 “ and still greater sums. Portugal would be no
 “ sooner taken, than the English would set about
 “ retaking it : this war, which would at once en-
 “ tirely occupy them, would divert them, from any
 “ other.

“ The English ministry are prepared for every
 “ thing, except the invasion of Portugal. They
 “ have planned all their operations for the German
 “ war, and that in America ; but no steps are
 “ taken for the defence of Portugal.

“ But this expedition should be equally secret as
 “ speedy : these form the soul of success. The
 “ greatest part of our operations miscarry, because
 “ they are tardy and public. The enemy is almost
 “ constantly acquainted with our designs the very
 “ instant that they are projected : this is the certain
 “ means of rendering them abortive. The English,
 “ it is true, are not prepared to oppose this invasion;
 “ but if they gain timely notice of it, they will set
 “ aside some other plans to prevent this. Expedi-
 “ tion and penetration are, we know, the two cha-
 “ racteristic qualities of that government.

“ The court of Madrid should be made ac-
 “ quainted with this scheme by an extraordinary
 “ courier, and their assistance requested ; or, we
 “ should rather purpose giving up Portugal to them,
 “ after the invasion.

“ If the court of Madrid has hitherto refused en-
 “ tering into alliance with France, it was because
 “ an expensive war was proposed to them, which
 “ offered nothing but charges without conquest ;
 “ but

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“ but

“ but when we propose giving them, as the fruit of
 “ their alliance, a kingdom at hand, and to which
 “ they pretend having ancient claims, they will not
 “ hesitate a moment.

“ The troops that are in Rouffillon, Languedoc,
 “ and Provence, should be forwarded by degrees
 “ nearer and nearer ; the marching of those that are
 “ more distant would discover the project.”

END of the SECOND VOLUME.



